THE EARLY YEARS

OF

H.R.H. THE PRINCE CONSORT.

1819—1841.

THE EARLY YEARS

OF

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS

THE PRINCE CONSORT,

COMPILED,

UNDER THE DIRECTION OF HER MAJESTY

THE QUEEN,

BY

LIEUT.-GENERAL THE HON. C. GREY.

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PREFACE.

This volume was originally compiled, under the Queen's direction, solely for private circulation amongst the members of her own family, or such other persons as, from the relations in which they had stood to her Majesty or to the Prince Consort himself, would naturally be interested in the story of his early days.

As, however, notwithstanding the limited circulation to which it was intended to confine the volume, there was felt to be considerable danger of a copy being surreptitiously obtained and published, possibly in a garbled form, the question arose whether it might not be expedient to avert this danger by publishing it in substantially the same form as that in which it was first printed for private circulation.

Acting upon the opinion of several persons in whose judgment she had the greatest confidence; believing also that the free and unreserved expression which the volume contains of her own feelings, as well as of those of the Prince, is such as, if made public (however unusual such publicity may be), will command the entire sympathy of every one whose sympathy or good opinion is to be desired; and above all, feeling that there is not one word, coming from the Prince himself, which will not tend to a better and higher appreciation of his great character, the Queen has not hesitated to give her consent to the present publication.

"In regard to the effect of the volume upon "the people of England," writes one of the oldest, most devoted and most honoured of the Prince's friends,* "Should Her Majesty here-"after resolve to publish it, there cannot, I "*think*, be the shadow of a doubt: should it

* Professor Sedgwick. He was Secretary to the Prince as Chancellor of the University of Cambridge.

"ever come before them, that it would exalt "the loyalty and love of all true-hearted "Englishmen. . . . Where everything is "so pure, so lovely, and so true, why should "not our honoured and beloved Queen lay "open the innermost recesses of her heart, and "thereby fix for ever the loyal sympathy of all "who have faith in what is *good*, and hold true "Christian allegiance to their God and to their "country?"

Then speaking of the impression produced on himself by a perusal of the volume, he proceeds:—"You will forgive me for noting down "one or two thoughts which struck me while "reading your volume. We now see, from "first to last, the beautiful consistency of the "Prince's character. He was a lovely boy "with a gentle temper; yet even then he had a "mental strength above his years, which gave "him the mastery over his elder brother. And "so it was in after life. Those gentler qualities "which made him the purest pattern of domestic "love, never, for a moment, degenerated into

"feebleness or effeminacy, but were carried out "into a noble purpose, by their unbroken union "with the firm will of his great and unselfish "heart. From his earliest years he seems never "to have flinched from labour, and he had "amassed vast treasures of exact knowledge, "which he did not for a moment exhibit for "ostentation, but he made them bear, at every "turn of life, upon some intellectual aim or "some plan that would tell upon the moral and "physical good of his fellow creatures.

"If it be good for man, as is taught by the "Poet Goethe, daily to see and to feast upon "objects of great beauty in art and nature, "surely the contemplation of a character at "once so great and so beautiful as that of the "Prince Consort, should be a sublime and "touching lesson to our countrymen."

Thus wrote Professor Sedgwick, on the 27th May 1867, to the editor of this volume; and it would be vain to try and add a syllable to the beautiful picture here given of the Prince's character. The more so, as in the

introductory remarks to the volume as first printed and which are here reproduced, will be found an attempt to describe that character at some length; and a still fuller and more comprehensive estimate of it, will naturally fall to be given when the whole story of the Prince's life is placed before the world in the volumes by which this is to be succeeded.

The task of preparing those volumes will be executed by other and abler hands. His own occupations making it impossible for him to undertake it, the present editor is happy to think that Mr. Theodore Martin has, at the request of the Queen, consented to go on with, and has for some time been engaged upon, the work, for the prosecution of which he will have the same advantages as to information from authentic sources, that have been enjoyed in the preparation of the present volume.

June 1867.

LETTER TO THE QUEEN

ON COMPLETING THE

VOLUME FOR PRIVATE CIRCULATION.

MADAM,

I HAVE now the honour to submit to your Majesty the various Letters and Memoranda entrusted to me by your Majesty, as, in obedience to your Majesty's commands, I have arranged and connected them to the best of my ability.

I am well aware how far my execution of the work falls short of what your Majesty had a right to expect, of what I myself could have wished, and of what the subject demands. It is, however, a satisfaction to me to feel, that no failure on my part in the performance of the portion of the task allotted to me, can

detract from the simple beauty of many of the letters that will be found in the following pages, or from the interest in the picture of a happy domestic life, as drawn in your Majesty's own Memoranda.

As I believe your Majesty intends to limit the circulation of this volume to your Majesty's own children and family, or, if it goes beyond them, to a very small circle of personal friends, I have not thought it necessary to omit any of the very interesting and private details contained in your Majesty's Memoranda, or to withhold the touching expression of your Majesty's feelings, as given in your Majesty's own words. Some of these details, particularly those relating to your Majesty's marriage, it might seem unusual to include in a work intended for more general perusal, though even in that case, judging of others' feeling by my own, I cannot doubt that they would meet with the warmest and most heartfelt sympathy.

The translations of the Prince's letters, as they appear in the text, are for the most part,

and with a few merely verbal corrections, by Princess Helena. They are made, as it appears to me, with surprising fidelity; but the originals of most of them will be found in an Appendix, for the benefit of those who may wish to read them in the language in which they were written.

The present volume closes with the end of the first year of your Majesty's married life. The further prosecution of the work will be a matter of greater difficulty.

From the Prince's constantly increasing connection with the political events of the day (so many of the principal actors in which are still living,) it will be impossible to do full justice to his character without a reference to those events, and to the influence which he brought to bear upon them. Moreover the Prince's occupations were so varied and multifarious—he gave himself with such energy and persevering activity to whatever could benefit his fellow-man,—that to follow him, even through one branch of his useful and unintermitted labours for the good of his

adopted country, would afford ample work to a single pen.

The early days, however, to which this volume relates, speak the promise so richly realized of his future years.

I have felt it to be a great privilege to have been allowed to assist in your Majesty's work of love; and it will be a source of lasting gratification to me if the result shall be, to make more generally known—at least as far as the limited circulation which your Majesty intends for this volume shall allow—the virtues and great qualities of one to whom I was bound by the strongest ties of gratitude and affection.

I remain,

With the most heartfelt devotion,

Your Majesty's

Very humble and obedient

Subject and servant,

C. GREY.

Windsor Castle, March 1866.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

ALBERT—using only the name by which he was known and endeared to the British people—second son of ERNEST I., Duke of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, and husband of our beloved *QUEEN, was lineally descended from those great* Saxon Princes whose names are immortalized in European history by the stand they made in defence of their country's liberties against the encroaching power of the German Emperors, as well as by the leading part they took in the struggle for the emancipation of the human mind from the trammels of Romish bigotry and superstition.

The names of Frederic the Warlike, first Prince Elector of Saxony; of Frederic the

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Wise, the friend and protector of Luther; and of John Frederic the Magnanimous, selected from a long list of rulers scarcely inferior to them in fame, sufficiently attest the bygone glories of the race.

But to none of those great ancestors can the present descendants of that illustrious house turn with more just pride, than to him whose loss the world finds every day more cause to mourn.

If goodness and virtue are inseparable from true greatness, where shall we find in history a more perfect combination of all the qualities that make a man truly great?—Eminent ability joined with the purest virtue—unremitting attention to the multifarious duties of a position all but the highest, combined with the most watchful and active benevolence—power and influence only valued as the means of advancing the best interests of mankind!

To him our leading statesmen loved to repair in all questions of doubt or difficulty, sure to find in his grasp of intellect, in his foresight and fertility of resource, in his clear and dispassionate judgment, his practical common sense, a helping hand out of their embarrassments. Upon his knowledge and sound prin-

ciples the philanthropist could rely with confidence, for the safe and effectual development of all schemes of improvement and general utility; the man of science for practical assistance in prosecuting his studies, or in making known their result to the world; while the artist—the sculptor and the painter—men of European reputation—were not ashamed to acknowledge their obligation to his fertile genius and cultivated taste.

If to these talents and accomplishments, and to the social qualities that fitted him to shine so eminently in public and private life, we add genuine and unaffected love of virtue and abhorrence of vice[1]—the latter feeling, however, tempered by the charity that thinketh no evil, springing from innate warmth and kindness of heart;—above all, if we look to the childlike purity and innocence of mind, preserved unsullied in deed and in thought, from the cradle to the grave—we have indeed before us a character which may well be held

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1 "Its presence depressed him, grieved him, horrified "him. His tolerance allowed him to make excuses for the "vices of individual men; but the evil itself he hated"—*Introduction to Speeches and Addresses of H.R.H. the Prince Consort*, published in 1864, p. 43.

up as a bright and glorious example for the emulation, as well as the love and admiration, of future generations.

How beautiful is the evidence borne to the Prince's goodness and excellence by those who knew him best—by his nearest relatives,[2] his tutor, and his most intimate friends. What a noble spirit of self-sacrifice and devotion to duty breathes in every line of the beautiful letters to his grandmother, and the friend of his youth, Baron Stockmar, written by him just before his marriage.[3] Well might it be said of him, that "he was one of those few men into "whose minds questions of self-interest never "enter, or are absolutely ignored when the "paramount obligation of duty is presented to "them."[4]

Then again, what high aspirations after the power of doing good do we find in the same letters—what evidence of the "presence of a "large and loving nature, where the lovingness "takes heed of all humanity."[5]

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[2] See especially the letter written by his brother, the present reigning Duke of Saxe-Coburg, when the marriage was arranged.—Chap. XI. p. 260.

[3] Chap. X. pp. 235, 239, 243, &c.

[4] *Introduction to Speeches*, p. 31.

[5] Ibid.

The Prince's extraordinary "good nature "and prompt sympathy forbade him to ignore "any question that interested his fellow-men."[6] Indeed to such an extent was this the case, that it may be too truly said of him, that his life fell a sacrifice to his unceasing exertions in their cause.

"To put the cup of this world's gladness to "his lips and yet not to be intoxicated—to gaze "steadily on all its grandeur and yet to be "undazzled—plain and simple in personal "desires, to feel its brightness and yet defy "its thrall—this is the difficult, and rare, and "glorious life of God in the soul of man."[7] And to this the Prince, if any man, most surely attained.

Mixed up as the Prince was of late years with all the most important events of an eventful period, it would be premature to attempt any account of his life which should enter into a detailed history of those events; and without doing this, it would be impossible to do him justice, or to make him known as he ought to be known to a world of which he was so great a benefactor.

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6 *Introduction to Speeches*, p. 31.

7 *Robertson's Sermons*, vol. ii. p. 282.

We may, however, even now prepare the way for the future Biographer, and to do this is the object of the present volume. It will contain a compilation of letters and memoranda, the greater part those of the Prince himself, and of the Queen, from which materials may, at the proper time, be extracted for such a memoir as may be given to the world. In the meantime, printed privately for the use and study of his children, with such an amount of narrative as appears necessary for their due connection, they will furnish those children, and perhaps children's children to the remotest times, with such an example of unselfish devotion to duty, as may well encourage them, in imitation of their great parent, to strive, as he did, to discharge the duties of their high callings without deviating from the path of virtue and true greatness.

These letters and memoranda will speak for themselves. We shall be able to trace in them the whole career of the illustrious Prince —his progress from boyhood to manhood— from manhood to the grave. We shall see the boy, scarcely yet emerged from infancy, winning the love as well as the respect of his

instructors.[8] We shall follow him as he advances towards manhood, still keeping the promise of his earliest years, thirsting for knowledge, and laborious and persevering in its acquirement, but seeking after it for the noblest of purposes; that he might be better enabled to promote the happiness and to improve the condition of his fellow-man.[9]

Grown to man's estate, and raised to the commanding position of the Consort of England's Queen, we shall find his great character developing itself in ever grander proportions: as a husband and a father, fulfilling every domestic duty with the most affectionate care and the tenderest solicitude; as the adviser and assister of the Sovereign in her daily communications with her Ministers,[10] making the interest

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[8] See Memorandum by his tutor, Herr Florschutz, at the end of chap. v. pp. 91 *et seqq.*

[9] "It was for the 'relief of man's estate' that this "amiable Prince delighted most in the extension of the "bounds of knowledge."—*Preface to Speeches*, p. 45

[10] M. Guizot says, in his introduction to his translation of he Prince's Speeches:—"À la fois actif et modeste ne recherchant point, évitant même toute apparence vaniteuse dans le Gouvernement, bien que très sérieusement préoccupé des affaires publiques de l'Angleterre, et des ntérêts de la couronne placée sur la tête de sa femme, il été, pendant vingt et un ans, le premi

and prosperity of the kingdom his undivided object; displaying an unusual capacity for public business, and in political and international questions, often of the most complicated nature, giving evidence of a coolness of judgment and fertility of resource which had already given him a weight and an authority in the councils of Europe that bade fair not only to equal, but to surpass those which were conceded by universal consent to the wisdom and long experience of his uncle Leopold, King of the Belgians.[11] [12]

"premier conseiller de la Reine Victoria, son intime et seul "secrétaire, associé sans bruit à toutes ses délibérations, à "toutes ses résolutions, habile à l'éclairer et à la seconder "dans ses rapports avec son Ministère, sans gêner ni offus-"quer le Ministère lui-même, exerçant à côté du trône une "judicieuse et salutaire influence, sans jamais dépasser un "rôle, ni porter atteinte aux conditions du régime con-"stitutionnel."

[11] "If the Prince had lived to attain what we now think a "good old age, he would inevitably have become the most "accomplished statesman and the most guiding personage in "Europe: a man to whose arbitrament fierce national quar-"rels might have been submitted, and by whose influence "calamitous wars might have been averted."—*Preface to Speeches*, p. 55.

[12] As these sheets pass through the press, the news arrives that the life of this great and enlightened sovereign has been brought to a close; that his long and beneficent

In studying such a life, though it may be given to few, if any, to attain the full height of the standard thus set before them, his children will find the strongest incentive to do nothing unworthy of their great sire.

> O how should England, dreaming of His sons,
> Hope more for these than *some* inheritance
> Of such a life!—a heart—a mind as thine,
> Thou noble father of her kings to be!

Since writing the above I have had the privilege of reading the beautiful address delivered on the last sad anniversary of our loss, by Dr. Macleod, to three of the Prince's children—the Crown Princess of Prussia, Prin-

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reign has ended amid the lamentations of his subjects and with the regret of all Europe. How well he has done his work—how completely he understood and identified himself with the spirit of the age—is proved by the two very remarkable demonstrations in Brussels of Saturday the 17th and Sunday the 18th of December: on the former day by the respectful demeanour and unmistakable expression of sorrow that clouded every brow amongst the countless thousands that thronged the line of the funeral procession from Brussels to Laeken; on the following day by the no ess unmistakable and universal display of popular enthu- asm that marked the entry of his son and successor into s capital, and proved the devotion of the Belgians to their nstitutional sovereign and to the independence of their intry.

cess Louis of Hesse, and Prince Alfred. How must their hearts have burned within them while they listened to the following glowing summary of their great Father's character:

". . . Yet in trying circumstances which "constantly demanded from him a positive "opinion, advice, decision, and action, on affairs "of State and matters of world interest—in addition to those duties, themselves extremely "onerous, belonging to his domestic and social "life, the Prince not only came out of every "ordeal unscathed, but triumphant and nobler "than before. Who ever heard one whisper "breathed against his moral character? What "false step in politics did he ever take? What "wrong advice on any subject did he ever "tender? What movement, great or small, did "he originate which was not beneficial to the "State, and worthy of our honour and our "greatness? What enemies did he ever make, "unless possibly among such persons as have "no sympathy with goodness, truth, or justice "in any man? So completely did he become "identified with all that was worth loving in the "nation; so intuitively did he discern its wants "and those points on which, whilst preserving

"all that was good, true progress towards some-"thing better was possible, and therefore de-"sirable—that all classes, all interests, claimed "him as their leader. Commerce, agriculture, "science, arts, the cottage and the camp, the "great men in the nation, as well as the domes-"tic servant and the ragged child, recognized in "him their wisest guide and truest friend. For "the attainment of whatever could benefit them, "'the Prince of all the land led them on.'

". . . Few men who have ever lived, "no Prince certainly of whom we read, could "have possessed a mind so many-sided with "such corresponding political and social in-"fluence. He was indeed the type of a new "era, an era of power; but not of that kind of "power represented by the armour of his noble "ancestors, the power of mere physical strength, "courage, or endurance, displayed at the "head of armies or of fleets; but the moral "power of character, the power of intellectual "culture, of extensive knowledge, of earnest "thought; the power of the sagacious states-"man, of the *single-minded good man:* that "power which discerns, interprets, and guides "the wants and the spirit of the age—the power,

"in short, of highest wisdom directed by "genuine benevolence to highest objects. . .

". . . His real strength lay most of all "in his character, or in that which resulted "from will and deliberate choice, springing out "of a nature singularly pure, by God's grace, "from childhood. . . .

". . . It is only now, when he is gone, "that all who knew him are made to feel how "much they unconsciously depended upon him! "like a staff on which the weak have been so "long accustomed to lean, that they know not "how essential it was to their support until it "be removed, and when with a sigh they with-"draw the hand from the place, now empty, "where it was wont to be!

"It is this feature in the Prince's character," Dr. Macleod adds, "which ought to make every "one sympathize to the very utmost with Her "Majesty, who, of all persons on earth, had the "best means of knowing it, and the best means "of proving it in a thousand ways in every-day "life, and who had the best grounds therefore "for appreciating its constancy, its tenderness, "its unfailing strength." And well may the

eloquent preacher appeal to "every true English "heart or conscience" to acknowledge the demand which "now arises in mute eloquence "from the throne, for the sympathy, the prayers, "the loyal self-sacrificing aid of every member "of her house, and of every citizen of our "Christian nation, on her behalf whom God, in "His Providence, has been pleased to spare, "and in mercy to continue to us, as our beloved "Sovereign."

THE EARLY YEARS

OF

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS

THE PRINCE CONSORT.

1819—1841.

CHAPTER I.

1819—1823.

THE SAXE-COBURG FAMILY—BIRTH AND EARLY INFANCY OF THE PRINCES—BIRTH OF PRINCESS VICTORIA—LETTERS FROM THE DUCHESS OF COBURG—AND FROM THE DOWAGER DUCHESSES OF COBURG AND OF GOTHA.

PRINCE ALBERT was descended from the Ernestine, or elder, branch of the great Saxon family. That branch had, however, lost its birthright in the course of the 16th century. Frederic the Wise, Elector of Saxony, had been the protector of Martin Luther, and was one of the first to embrace the doctrines of the

Reformed Church, of which he was the most powerful supporter. His immediate successors adhered to the same religious opinions, and after the defeat of John Frederic the Magnanimous, by Charles V., at Mühlberg, in 1547, they paid the penalty of their devotion to the Protestant faith, in the forced surrender of their inheritance to the younger, or Albertine, branch of the family, by the descendants of which the Saxon throne is still occupied.

It is not easy to trace the arrangement by which, on losing the Electorate, now the Kingdom of Saxony, the Ernestine branch acquired the several Duchies still possessed by its descendants. It would be still more difficult to follow out the laws of succession—the intermarriages, &c., leading to the redistribution or interchange of territory—in consequence of which these different Duchies came into the possession now of this, now of that member of the family. The custom of dividing and subdividing their inheritance amongst their sons seems long to have prevailed with these Saxon Dukes. Thus the Dukedoms of Saxe-Gotha-Altenburg, of Saxe-Meiningen, of Saxe-Hildburghausen, and of Saxe-Coburg-Saalfeld were, on the death, in 1679, of Ernest the

Pious, Duke of Saxe-Gotha-Coburg and great-grandson of the last Elector of the Ernestine branch, John Frederic the Magnanimous, divided severally amongst his sons. Of these, the eldest, Frederic, inherited the Duchies of Saxe-Gotha-Altenburg, while that of Saxe-Coburg-Saalfeld fell to the share of the youngest, John Ernest, the immediate ancestor of our Prince.

Francis Joseph, son and successor of John Ernest, had four sons, of whom the eldest, Ernest Frederic, succeeded him as reigning Duke in 1764; while the third, Frederic, having greatly distinguished himself in the Austrian service, was made a Field-Marshal, and commanded the allied armies in the Netherlands for some time in the beginning of the French revolutionary war.[1]

Ernest Frederic was succeeded, in 1800, by Francis Frederic, his eldest son, who died in 1806, leaving three sons and four daughters.

1. Ernest, the father of our Prince, who succeeded his father as Duke of Saxe-Coburg-

[1] An interesting notice of this generation of the family, and particularly of the Field-Marshal, will be found in Appendix A. pp. 369 *et seqq.*, containing the Reminiscences of the King of the Belgians.

Saalfeld, under the title of Ernest I. To this inheritance, by a family arrangement made in 1825, on the death of Frederic IV., the last male descendant of Frederic Duke of Saxe-Gotha-Altenburg eldest son of Ernest the Pious above mentioned, and confirmed in November 1826, he added the Duchy of Gotha. But in accordance with the same arrangement, he had to surrender the Duchy of Saalfeld to the Duke of Meiningen—Saxe-Altenburg being, at the same time, separated from the Duchy of Gotha, and given to the Duke of Hildburghausen, who assumed the former title, Hildburghausen itself being also added to the territory of the Duke of Meiningen.

2. Ferdinand George, who married the heiress of the Prince of Kohary in Hungary, and whose son became King Consort of Portugal by his marriage with Queen Donna Maria II. of that kingdom.

3. Leopold, the late King of the Belgians.

Duke Francis also left four daughters.

1. Sophia, who, after refusing many eligible proposals of marriage of her own rank, married, in 1804, Count Mensdorff-Pouilly, who, emigrating from France at the Revolution, attained high rank and distinction in the

Austrian service. The greatest intimacy and friendship existed in youth between her sons, all distinguished in the Austrian service,[2] and their cousin Prince Albert,[3] and an interesting account of his recollections of the Prince, by Count Arthur Mensdorff, will be found in a subsequent chapter.

2. Antoinette, married, in 1798, to Duke Alexander of Würtemberg, brother to the Empress Mother of Russia (mother to the Emperors Alexander and Nicholas), who had a very influential position in Russia, and lived there for many years.

3. Julie, the third, married, at fifteen, to the late Grand Duke Constantine of Russia. But this marriage was not a happy one, and in 1802 she left Russia, fixing her residence finally at Elfenau, near Berne, in Switzerland,[4] where, it will be seen, the Prince, in the course of a pedestrian tour, paid her a visit in September 1837, as he also did on several occasions afterwards.

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[2] One of them, Count Alexander Mensdorff, is now [1866] Minister for Foreign Affairs at Vienna.

[3] See Appendix A. p. 375.

[4] For more detailed accounts of his sisters and family, see Reminiscences of the King of the Belgians, Appendix A. p. 369.

4. Victoire Marie Louise, the youngest daughter, married, first, the Prince of Leiningen; and, secondly, the Duke of Kent, as whose widow, and as the mother of our Queen, she lived for the remainder of her life in England, beloved by her family and friends, and endeared, by her many virtues and innumerable acts of kindness, to the whole British nation.

Ernest I., eldest son of Duke Francis by Augusta, daughter of Prince Henry XXIV. of Reuss-Ebersdorff, was born in 1784, and, as already mentioned, succeeded his father in 1806 as reigning Duke of Saxe-Coburg-Saalfeld.

The Dukedom was at that time in the occupation of the French, and the new Duke and other members of the family were objects of great suspicion to the French Government. The Reminiscences of his brother the King of the Belgians, which will be found in Appendix A. at the end of the volume, will give a good idea of the difficulties with which Duke Ernest had, in consequence, to contend at his accession and for many years afterwards; nor was it till the emancipation of Germany in 1813 from the oppressive domination so long exercised over her by Napoleon, that he can be said to have come fairly into possession of his inheritance.

A marriage with a Russian Grand-Duchess had originally been in contemplation for the young Duke; but this was broken off in 1812, and in 1817 he married the Princess Louise, daughter, by his first wife, a Princess of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, of Augustus,[5] last reigning Duke but one of Saxe-Gotha-Altenburg. By her he had two sons, Ernest, the present reigning Duke, born at the Ehrenburg, the Ducal Palace at Coburg, on the 21st June 1818, and Albert, the subject of the following memoir, born at the Rosenau, a charming summer residence belonging to the Duke about four miles from Coburg, on the 26th August 1819.

In a Memorandum, written in 1864, the Queen gives the following account of the Duchess:—

"The Princess is described as having been "very handsome, though very small; fair, with "blue eyes; and Prince Albert is said to have "been extremely like her. An old servant "who had known her for many years told "the Queen that when she first saw the Prince

[5] He married secondly the Princess Caroline of Hesse Cassel, born in 1768, daughter of William, ninth Elector of Hesse, and of Wilhelmina of Denmark. She was the Duchess of Gotha so constantly mentioned in the following pages, and died February 28, 1848.

"at Coburg, in 1844, she was quite overcome "by the resemblance to his mother.

"She was full of cleverness and talent; but "the marriage was not a happy one, and a "separation took place in 1824, when the "young Duchess finally left Coburg, and never "saw her children again. She died at St. "Wendel in 1831, after a long and painful "illness, in her 32nd year.

"The Duchess Dowager of Gotha, her step-"mother, writes to the Duke the following "account of her on 27th July 1831:—

"'The sad state of my poor Louise bows "'me to the earth. . . . The thought "'that her children had quite forgotten her "'distressed her very much. She wished to "'know if they ever spoke of her. I answered "'her that they were far too good to forget her; "'that they did not know of her sufferings, as "'it would grieve the good children too much.'

"The Prince never forgot her, and spoke "with much tenderness and sorrow of his poor "mother, and was deeply affected in reading, "after his marriage, the accounts of her sad "and painful illness. One of the first gifts he "made to the Queen was a little pin he had "received from her when a little child. Princess

"Louise (the Prince's fourth daughter, and "named after her grandmother) is said to be "like her in face.

"On receiving the news of her death, the "amiable Duchess of Gotha again writes to "the Duke of Coburg:—

"'MY DEAR DUKE,—This also I have to "'endure, that that child whom I watched over "'with such love should go before me. May "'God soon allow me to be reunited to all my "'loved ones. . . . It is a most bitter "'feeling that that dear dear house [of Gotha] "'is now quite extinct.'—The Duchess Louise "was the last descendant of the family. Many "years later, her earthly remains were brought "to Coburg, and she now reposes next the "Duke and his second wife in the fine family "mausoleum at Coburg, only completed in the "year 1860, where the Queen herself placed "a wreath of flowers on her tomb in the autumn "of that year."

Prince Albert was born, as has been already stated, at the Rosenau, a summer residence of the Duke's, about four miles from Coburg. His grandmother, the Dowager Duchess of Coburg-Saalfeld, resided at this time at Ketschendorf, a small villa about a quarter of a mile on

the other side of Coburg. A little before seven in the morning of the 26th of August 1819, a groom from the Rosenau rode into the courtyard of Ketschendorf to summon the Duchess to the former place, bringing the news of the safe confinement of her daughter-in-law and of the birth of the young Prince. But let the Duchess give her own account of the event. She thus writes to her daughter the Duchess of Kent the following day:—

"*Rosenau, August 27, 1819.*

"The date will of itself make you suspect "that I am sitting by Louischen's bed. She "was yesterday morning safely and quickly "delivered of a little boy. Siebold, the accou-"cheuse, had only been called at three, and at "six the little one gave his first cry in this "world, and looked about like a little squirrel "with a pair of large black eyes.[7] At a quarter "to 7 I heard the tramp of a horse. It was a "groom, who brought the joyful news. I was "off directly, as you may imagine, and found "the little mother slightly exhausted, but gaie "et dispos. She sends you and Edward (the "Duke of Kent) a thousand kind messages.

"Louise is much more comfortable here than

7 The eyes, however, were blue.

"if she had been laid up in town. The quiet of "this house, only interrupted by the murmuring "of the water, is so agreeable. But I had many "battles to fight to assist her in effecting her "wish. Dr. Müller found it inconvenient. "The Hof-Marshal thought it impossible—par- "ticularly if the christening was to be here also. "No one considered the noise of the palace at "Coburg, the shouts of the children, and the "rolling of the carriages in the streets.

"The little boy is to be christened to-mor- "row,[7] and to have the name of Albert. The "Emperor of Austria, the old Duke Albert of "Saxe-Teschen, the Duke of Gotha, Mensdorff, "and I are to be sponsors. Our boys will have "the same names as the sons of the Elector "Frederic the Mild, who were stolen by Kunz "of Kauffungen—namely Ernest and Albert. "Ernest minor" (he was then just 14 months old) "runs about like a weasel. He is teething, "and as cross as a little badger from impatience "and liveliness. He is not pretty now, except "his beautiful black eyes.

"How pretty the *May Flower* will be when

7 This, however, was not the case. He was christened on the 19th of September, in the Marble Hall at the Rosenau.

"I see it in a year's time. Siebold cannot suf-
"ficiently describe what a dear little love it is.
"Une bonne fois, adieu! Kiss your husband
"and children. "AUGUSTA."

The *May Flower* above spoken of was the Princess (now Queen) Victoria, who had been born on the 24th of May preceding. And it is a curious coincidence, considering the future connection of the children, that Mdme. Siebold, the accoucheuse spoken of above as attending the Duchess of Coburg at the birth of the young Prince, had, only three months before, attended the Duchess of Kent at the birth of the Princess.

The Dowager Duchess, whose letter announcing the young Prince's birth we have just read, had thus written to her daughter on that occasion.

"*June* 1819.

"I cannot express how happy I am to know
"you, dearest, dearest Vickel, safe in your bed
"with a little one, and that all went off so hap-
"pily. May God's best blessings rest on the
"little stranger and the beloved mother.

"Again a Charlotte[8]—destined, perhaps, to

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[8] The Princess Charlotte of Wales had died the preceding year, and this made the young Princess Heiress Presumptive to the Throne, on the death of her father and uncles.

"play a great part one day, if a brother is not
"born to take it out of her hands.

"The English like Queens, and the niece[9] of the ever-lamented, beloved Charlotte will be most dear to them.

"I need not tell you how delighted every-body is here in hearing of your safe confinement. You know that you are much beloved in this your little home."

The Duke of Kent lived but a short time after the birth of his daughter. On the 23rd of January 1820, only a few days before his father King George III.,[10] he died, and left his Duchess a widow for the second time.

On the 19th of September the young Prince was christened in the Marble Hall at the Rosenau, when he received the following names in the order in which they are given: Francis Charles Augustus Albert Emmanuel. The name by which he was known, Albert, being the last but one.

When the Queen was at the Rosenau in

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[9] She was first-cousin, but niece as well, the Princess Charlotte having married the little Princess's uncle, Prince Leopold.

[10] He died January 29th, 1820.

1863, the Prince's former tutor, M. Florschütz, gave her a copy of the address pronounced on the occasion of the baptism by the Superintendent Genzler, whose daughter M. Florschütz had married. Nor is it without interest to note in passing, that Professor Genzler had before officiated at the marriage of the Duke and Duchess of Kent, which took place in the Palace at Coburg in 1818, and that he received the Queen and Prince at Coburg when they paid their first visit to it after their marriage, in 1844.[11]

In this address there are two passages so strikingly and completely realized and fulfilled in the beloved Prince's great, pure, and spotless character—so absolutely prophetic of his after-life—that it would be an unpardonable omission not to insert them here.

"The good wishes," said the preacher, "with which we welcome this infant as a "Christian, as one destined to be great on "earth, and as a future heir to everlasting "life, are the more earnest, when we consider "the *high position in life in which he may one* "*day be placed, and the sphere of action to which*

[11] Memorandum by the Queen.

"*the will of God may call him, in order to con-*
"*tribute more or less to the promotion of truth*
"*and virtue, and to the extension of the kingdom*
"*of God.* . . . . . The thoughts and
"supplications of the loving mother are: that
"her beloved son may one day enter into the
"kingdom of God as *pure* and as *innocent after*
"*the trials of this life as he is at this moment*
"(the joy and hope of his parents) received
"into the communion of this Christian Church,
"whose vocation it is to bring up and form
"upon earth a God-fearing race."

Had these words, pronounced by the officiating clergyman at the Prince's baptism, been used after his premature death, could they, by possibility, have been more descriptive of him? Surely, no man ever went beyond him in a constant persevering devotion of himself "to the promotion of truth and virtue;" and of none could it have been said with more truth over the grave, that the trials and temptations of the world had left him as pure and innocent at that closing scene as when first "received" an infant in his nurse's arms "into "the communion of the Christian Church."

On the 22nd May 1820, when Prince Albert was barely eight months old, his mother

thus describes her children :—" Ernest est bien " grand pour son âge, vif et intelligent. Ses " grands yeux noirs pétillent d'esprit et de " vivacité . . . . Albert est superbe—d'une " beauté extraordinaire ; a de grands yeux " bleus, une toute petite bouche—un joli nez " —et des fossettes à chaque joue—il est grand " et vif, et toujours gai. Il a trois dents, et " malgré qu'il n'a que huit mois, il commence " déjà à marcher."

" Albert est toujours beau, gai et bon, et a " sept dents," writes his mother again in July of the same year—" il marche déjà, quelquefois " tout seul, et dit 'papa et maman;' n'est-ce " pas," she adds, in all the pride of a young mother's heart, " n'est-ce pas un petit prodige " pour dix mois ? "

Again, when the young Prince was two years old, she writes :—" Albert adore son " oncle Léopold, ne le quitte pas un instant, " lui fait des yeux doux, l'embrasse à chaque " moment, et ne se sent pas d'aise que lorsqu'il " peut être auprès de lui. . . . . Il est " charmant de taille, blond, et yeux bleus. " Ernest est très-fort et robuste, mais pas la " moitié si joli. Il est beau, et a des yeux noirs."

And a few months later :—" Mes enfans

"ont faits les délices de leurs aieuls. Ils "grandissent beaucoup et deviennent très "amusants. L'aîné surtout parait avoir de "l'esprit, et le petit captive tous les cœurs par "sa beauté et sa gentillesse."

The Dowager Duchess of Coburg continued to watch with the tenderest affection over the progress of the young Princes her grand-children; and the letters from her which will be quoted in the course of this Memoir, up to the time of her death in 1831, breathe in every line a spirit of simplicity and love that speaks to the heart. The King of the Belgians, in his Reminiscences, describes her as being in every way "a most distinguished person;" and the Queen, speaking of her, many years later, thus records her recollections:—

"The Queen remembers her dear grand-"mother perfectly well. She was a most "remarkable woman, with a most powerful, "energetic, almost masculine mind, accom-"panied with great tenderness of heart and "extreme love for nature.

"The Prince told the Queen that she had "wished earnestly that he should marry the "Queen, and as she died when her grand-

"children (the Prince and Queen) were only "twelve years old, she could have little guessed "what a blessing she was preparing not only "for this country but for the world at large. "She was adored by her children, particu- "larly by her sons; King Leopold being her "great favourite.

"She had fine and most expressive blue "eyes, with the marked features and long nose "inherited by most of her children and grand- "children.

"Both the Prince and his brother were "exceedingly attached to her, and they lived "much with her in their younger days. Of an "evening the Prince said she was in the habit "of telling them the story of Walter Scott's "novels, and she used often to employ them in "writing letters from her dictation. This was "especially the case in 1829 or '30, when there "was a question of her son Prince (afterwards "King) Leopold going to Greece."[12]

The following letters, written by her to her daughter the Duchess of Kent in 1821, show the fond affection with which she regarded her grandchildren:—

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[12] Memorandum by the Queen.

"10 *February* 1821.

"Albert is teething like his little cousin,[13] "but he is feverish with it and not at all well. "He is not a strong child. Ernest gets much "more easily over it, because he is more lively."

"11 *July* 1821.

"Ernest's little boys are very amusing. "Little Alberinchen, with his large blue eyes and "dimpled cheeks, is bewitching, forward, and "quick as a weasel. He can already say every-"thing. Ernest is not nearly as pretty, only "his intelligent brown eyes are very fine; but "he is tall, active, and very clever for his age."

"11 *August* 1821.

"Leopold is very kind to the little boys. "Bold Alberinchen drags him constantly about "by the hand. The little fellow is the pendant "to the pretty cousin; very handsome, but too "slight for a boy; lively, very funny, all good "nature, and full of mischief. The other day "he did not know how to make enough of me "because I took him with me in the carriage. "He kept on saying, 'Albert is going with "'grandmama,' and gave me his little hand "to kiss. 'There, grandmama, kiss.'"

But the children had another loving relative

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[13] Princess (now Queen) Victoria.

at Gotha, in their step-maternal godmother, the Duchess of Saxe-Gotha-Altenburg, second wife of Duke Augustus, father, by his first wife, of the Prince's mother.[14] She was a very sensible woman, with the kindest heart, and of the most genuine and unaffected goodness. Charming evidence of these qualities will be found in her letters, quoted in this volume; whether she gives expression to her maternal solicitude for the welfare of the people over whom her husband had so long reigned, or to the devoted love she felt for her grandchildren, in whom, from their earliest infancy, she took an affectionate interest, not surpassed by that of their own grandmother at Coburg. Indeed their two grandmothers seemed to vie with each other as to which should show them the most love and kindness; and it is from the letters, now of one, now of the other, that we get the best account of the childhood and youth of the young Princes.

In the spring of 1822 the Duke and Duchess of Coburg were absent from Coburg, and the Dowager Duchess being also away for a short time, the children were alone at Coburg. The Duchess of Gotha therefore invited them to

[14] See note, p. 7.

go to her in the following letter to their father, and the invitation was at once accepted:

"Gotha, May 2, 1822.

"As your dear mother will not return for "some time to Coburg, and the dear children "will consequently be left alone, I venture to "make a proposal, in which my husband joins, "that you should entrust the darlings to our care. "I need not tell you, my dearest son, that while "they are with me, dear to me as they are, they "would be the object of my life: nor can I say "how much such a mark of your confidence would "touch me. However, I leave it for your con-"sideration, and only beg you will consider the "proposal as a proof of my motherly affection."

The visit was paid—and on the 26th of June, the young Princes returned to Coburg, as mentioned by the Duchess of Coburg in the following letter:

"27 June 1822.

"Yesterday morning my dear little boys "came back from Gotha, and I was overjoyed. "Ernest is very much grown. He is not as "handsome as his father, but he will have his "good figure. Albert is much smaller than "his brother, and lovely as a little angel with "his fair curls."

At the beginning of the following year, the Dowager Duchess of Coburg again writes:

"14th February 1825.

"The little boys have interrupted me, for "you know how little one can do during such a "visit. A couple of boys always find means to "be noisy, which, and the loud talking, calls for "many a scolding from grandmama. They are "very good boys on the whole, very obedient "and easy to manage. Albert used to rebel a "little sometimes, but a grave face brings the "little fellow to submit. Now he obeys me at "a look. Some weeks ago he alarmed us by an "attack of croup, but leeches and a blister "quickly relieved it. If anybody complains "now, he says, very wisely, 'You must put on "'a blister.'"

M. Florschütz, the tutor, to whose care it will be seen the boys were removed in the course of this year, says that Prince Albert at this time was very subject to attacks of croup.

Again on the 10th of March, of the same year, the Duchess writes:

"Ernest's boys have got a picture-book. "One of the pictures represents the carrying off "of the Saxon Princes. This interests them "greatly, and Albert makes wonderful eyes in

"telling that one was called Albert, like him-"self."

It has been already mentioned that the young Princes bore the same names as Ernest and Albert the sons of the Elector Frederic the Mild, who gave their names to the two branches into which the Saxon family was thenceforward divided. The story represented in the picture above mentioned was, that these Princes were stolen in infancy from the Schloss of Altenburg, by one Kunz of Kauffungen, Chamberlain to the Elector, in revenge for having been compelled to restore property that, during some disturbances, had been entrusted to his care.

"The boys are very wild"—the Dowager Duchess writes on the 9th of May—"and Ernest "flies about like a swallow. One need not, "therefore, be astonished at his catching cold "during these few warm days, with the wind "getting up in the evening.

"Florschütz, who has been with Mensdorff's "boys, will come now to those of Ernest, of "which I am glad. Do not yet tease your little "puss with learning. She is so young still."

The Princess Victoria, who is thus alluded to, would not be four years old till the 24th of that month.

CHAPTER II.

1823–1826.

THE PRINCES REMOVED TO THE CARE OF A TUTOR—PRINCE ALBERT'S FIRST JOURNAL AND LETTERS—VISITS TO GOTHA—LETTERS FROM DOWAGER DUCHESS OF GOTHA.

PRINCE ERNEST was barely five years old, and Prince Albert not yet four, when the change alluded to at the end of the last chapter took place, and the young Princes were removed from the care of the nurse to whom they had been hitherto entrusted, to that of Herr Florschütz of Coburg.

It is generally a severe trial to a child to be separated for the first time from the nurse by whom it has been hitherto tended and cared for; but the Prince, even as a child, showed a great dislike to being in the charge of women, and rejoiced instead of sorrowing over the contemplated change.[1] His gentle and docile

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[1] Memorandum by the Queen.

temper, too—his natural tenderness of heart and readiness to love those from whom he experienced kindness—soon led him to attach himself with all the warmth of a loving nature to his new instructor; and it was a source of just and honest pride to the tutor, that the attachment and friendship thus begun, endured till the last moment of the Prince's life. Not that the Prince ever forgot—it was not in his nature to forget—her to whom his infancy owed its earliest care; and Mr. Florschütz relates that many little acts of kindness in after years gave Mdme. Müller the grateful assurance of his remembrance of her.

From this time forward Mr. Florschütz had the sole direction of the young Princes' education, till they left Bonn, fifteen years later, at the close of their academical career;—and admirably did he perform his task. Nothing could exceed the patience and unintermitting zeal with which he gave himself up to his new duties; and the progress made by both Princes—their varied attainments and extensive information, with the habits which they acquired of application, and of careful and accurate investigation of all subjects submitted to them—gave indisputable proof of the skill and judgment

with which he directed their studies. The transfer of the children, however, from the care of their nurse to that of a tutor, alarmed their maternal grandmother at Gotha, and in her tender solicitude, fearing danger to their health from the change thus made, she wrote as follows to the Duke on the 23rd November 1823:—

"That the precious children are well makes "me very happy, and I long intensely to see "them again. I am only sorry that they are "now in the hands of the tutor. It is, no doubt, "quite right, but I could have wished that, "being so subject to attacks of croup, they "should still have slept with Müller (their "nurse); for a woman accustomed as Müller "has been for so many years, to be with the "children, naturally sleeps much less soundly "than a man who is not used to be with little "children.

"Should one of them be suddenly seized "with a fit of croup, and he should not be "awake, the consequences might be serious. "I could, therefore, have wished that their "careful nurse should still have slept with the "children till Alberinchen was seven years old. "Forgive the anxiety of a grandmother."

When the Duchess of Gotha wrote thus,

Prince Albert was still only four years and three months old—certainly rather an early age at which to remove a boy from the care of a nurse to that of a man who could have no experience in infantine disorders, and could know nothing of the many little cares and attentions on which the comfort and health of children so much depend.

Nothing was more remarkable, even in infancy, than the unselfish affection which united the two brothers. "Brought up together," says Mr. Florschütz, "they went hand-in-hand in all things, whether at work or at play. Engaging in the same pursuits, sharing the same joys and the same sorrows, they were bound to each other by no common feelings of mutual love." And this mutual love endured without interruption and without diminution through life.

"Even in infancy, however," their tutor continues, "a marked difference was observable in their characters and dispositions. This difference naturally became more apparent as years went on, and their separate paths in life were definitively marked out for them; yet far from leading at any time to any, [illegible] momentary, estrangement, it seems rather

"have afforded a closer bond of union between "them."

A striking proof of the warm affection which united them will be found in a touching letter from Prince Ernest to the Queen, written when his brother's marriage was settled, and inserted in its proper place, in which he speaks of the rare qualities and virtues that already distinguished Prince Albert above all his young associates.

Mr. Florschütz describes the young Prince as being singularly easy to instruct; and this, notwithstanding the difficulties thrown constantly in the way by the injudicious, as he considers it, partiality of their mother; by the irregularity of *hours*, and the *interruptions* occasioned by their frequent changes of residence and general mode of life. His complaints on this subject are *fully* detailed in a memorandum of his early recollections, which will be found presently, inserted at length.

The intellectual and thoughtful turn of the Prince's character, and his love of order, were even at this early age conspicuous. His studies were a pleasure to him, not a task. His constant love of occupation—for, in the words of his tutor, "to do *something* was with him a neces-

sity"—his perseverance and application, were only equalled by his facility of comprehension.

This eager desire for knowledge did not, however, lessen his enjoyment of the active sports and amusements which generally have, and ought to have, so much attraction for boys. Indeed he seems to have thrown himself into his bodily exercises with the same zeal with which he devoted himself to his studies, and to have entered into the games of boyhood with all the glee and zest of an ardent and energetic spirit. In these games with his brother and his young companions, his was the directing mind. Nor was he at times indisposed to resort to force, if his wishes were not at once complied with.[2]

At this time, however, his tutor says of him, that "he was rather delicate than robust, "though already remarkable for his powers "of perseverance and endurance."

The King of the Belgians, writing to the Queen in 1864, confirms, for the most part, the account of the young Prince thus given by Mr. Florschütz:—

"I have seen him," he says, "in 1822, '23, "'24, '26, '27, and '29, chiefly at Coburg,

[2] Memorandum by Mr. Florschutz.

"but since 1827 also at Gotha. He looked "delicate in his youngest days. Arthur puts "me most in mind of his looks in those days. "He was always an intelligent child, and held "a certain sway over his elder brother, who "rather kindly submitted to it."

There does not appear to have been much to record during the boyhood of the Princes; and, with the exception of the unfortunate circumstances of the year 1824, which resulted in the separation of their parents, to which reference has already been made, their lives flowed on in a singularly even and unvarying, but at the same time very happy course. Indeed the Prince, in after years, frequently alluded to his happy childhood, and often told the Queen that he considered it the happiest period of his whole life.[3]

The mode of life adopted at this time for the young Princes will be found amply detailed in the memorandum of their tutor, Herr Florschütz. But before proceeding further to notice this subject, it may be interesting to read a few extracts from a journal kept by the young Prince himself, as well as some of his letters to his father, written before he was six years old.

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[3] Memorandum by the Queen.

It is matter for regret, that the habit of keeping a journal thus early commenced, was not continued through life; for in after years such a journal could not have failed to have been of immense interest. In these early days the journal dictated by the Prince contains, perhaps, nothing that any child of that age might not have written, though one cannot help being pleased with the artless simplicity of his remarks, as well as with the evident *truth* that marks the expression of the child's feelings; and, though there may not be anything in his letters to distinguish them from those written by other boys of the same age, the more exalted the position, the more distinguished the career of any man has been in after years, the more we like to know him as a boy, thinking, speaking, and writing, as we have ourselves done.

The extracts from the journal which are here given, are dated from January to April 1825, when the Prince was not yet six years old. In that year the Duke was much away from home, and during his absence the young Princes spent most of the summer quietly at the Rosenau, varied only by a short stay occasionally with their grandmother at Ketschendorf, and by a visit to their other grandmother at Gotha.

The journal is as follows :—

"21st January.

"When I got up this morning I was very "happy: I washed myself, and then was "dressed; after which I played for a little "while, then the milk was brought, and after"wards dear Papa came to fetch us to "breakfast. After breakfast dear Papa showed "us the English horses. The little white "one can trot very fast, but the chestnut "one is rather clumsy." (There was an English breeder there.) "After we had "seen the horses we did our lessons, and "then put on our boots and went to the Hof-"garden. On our way home we met the "little Ledermanns. Then we went home to "dinner.

"After dinner we drove to the Rosenau. "Here dear Papa was shooting, and we went a "little way with the shooting party.

"Waldmann was always wanting to run and "chase the partridges, but we would not let "him. Sometimes, however, he ran away with "the string, and we were forced to run fast after "him to catch him again. We drove home, "played, and then went downstairs to dinner, "but that had long been over. We then

"visited our cousins, came upstairs again and "dined, and then wrote our journals.

"Now I am sleepy, I will pray and go to "bed."

"*23rd January.*

"When I awoke this morning I was ill. "My cough was worse. I was so frightened "that I cried. Half the day I remained in "bed, and only got up at three o'clock in the "afternoon. I did a little drawing, then I "built a castle and arranged my arms; after "that I did my lessons, and made a little "picture and painted it. Then I played with "Noah's Ark, then we dined, and I went to "bed and prayed."

"*26th January.*

". . . We recited, and I cried because I "could not say my repetition, for I had not "paid attention. . . . I was not allowed to "play after dinner, because I had cried whilst "repeating. Then Parthénai came and we "talked French with him. The little boy "Mensel came and brought us some black "chalk, with which we drew beautiful pic- "tures. Then we looked over the Picture "Academy."[4]

[4] Name of a German Book.

"*28th January.*

". . . Papa took us to breakfast and there "I got a beautiful crown piece. After break-"fast we continued our lessons. . . . Then we "went down to dear Papa, and I took my "needles and rings down with me. . . ."

"*11th February* 1825.

". . . I was to recite something, but I did "not wish to do so: that was not right, "naughty! . . ."

"*20th February.*

". . . During our walk I told the Rath "(the Tutor) a story. When I came home I "played with my companions. But I had left "all my lesson-books lying about in the room, "and I had to put them away: then I cried, "but afterwards I played again. . . ."

"*28th February.*

". . . I cried at my lesson to-day, because "I could not find a verb: and the Rath pinched "me, to show me what a verb was. And I "cried about it. . . ."

"*26th March.*

". . . I wrote a letter at home. But be-"cause I had made so many mistakes in it, "the Rath tore it up, and threw it into the fire. "I cried about it. . . ."

"*27th March.*

". . . I finished writing my letter. Then I "played. . . ."

"*4th April.*

". . . After dinner we went with dear Papa "to Ketschendorf. There I drank beer, and "ate bread and butter and cheese. . . ."

"*8th April.*

". . . After dinner we went to Ketschen-"dorf, and from Ketschendorf we went to "Seidmannsdorf. On the road I cried. From "Seidmannsdorf we went home by the Eckarts-"berg. . . . Then we had a French lesson."

"*9th April.*

". . . I got up well and happy; after-"wards I had a fight with my brother. . . . "After dinner we went to the play. It was "Wallenstein's 'Lager,' and they carried out a "monk."

"*10th April.*

". . . I had another fight with my brother: "that was not right."

"1825.

"DEAR PAPA," he writes about the same time to his father while staying with his grandmother at Ketschendorf—"We have now been a week at "Ketschendorf, and are quite well. I hope you "have arrived safe at Berlin, but come back to "us soon. I long for your return. It is very fine "here. We often stay out till near 10 o'clock, "as it is much finer in the evening than in the "day. We were at the Rosenau a few days "ago, but unluckily the weather was not fine. "The wind was very high. We are going there "again to-day with dear grandmama. Pikas" (a dog) "is with us at Ketschendorf, but he "often runs away from us. Think of me with "love.

"Your

"ALBERT."

"1825.

"DEAR PAPA,—The day before yesterday "we went to see the Hof-Marshal, and yester-"day the Colonel. Our Finches have such a "fine house to live in! Think of me very often, "and bring me a doll that nods its head.

"Your little

"ALBERT."

A visit to their maternal grandmother at Gotha seems now to have become an annual custom, and was the source of much happiness to her, fondly attached as she was to her grandchildren. She also came herself occasionally to Coburg, and in June, 1824, writes during one of these visits:

"The dear children are, thank God, per-"fectly well, and as happy and merry as one "could wish. They delight so much in driving "and walking about that, if one were to ask "them, they would say they never wished to "go home."

And in July 1825, when the young Princes were again staying with her:

"I can give you," she says, "the very best "accounts of our dear children. Nothing has "ailed them, and I think that dear little Albert "is grown decidedly fatter since he came. "They lead a very simple and regular life, and "are out in the open air as much as possible. "They are so good and gentle, and give me "great pleasure. I shall hope to restore them to "you on your return in perfect health. . . . "The dear children wrote to you by the last "post. The 'Rath' really does all he can for "them, and you have a real treasure in him.

"I took the children to Reinhardsbrunn, "where we spent a very happy day, and "yesterday I went with them to Schnepfenthal, "where they were perfectly happy. The "director, Saltzmann, was delighted at my "bringing them, and invited them to come "again. We should make many more such "excursions if the weather was not so un-"settled."

In the spring of 1826 we find the children spending two months at Gotha under the charge of the good Duchess, and while staying there the Prince wrote constantly to his father. It might seem too trivial to give all his letters here, and the two following may be taken as fair samples of the rest:

"1826.

"DEAR GOOD PAPA,—I am very well. I "hope you are very well. Thank you for your "letter. We sometimes make expeditions from "here. Last Sunday we went to Schnepfenthal, "and dined with the school-boys. Three days "afterwards we went to Reinhardsbrunn, and "walked in the Ungeheurer Grund, where we "saw many big rocks, and on the biggest rock "there was a falcon's nest. I long for the "Minerals you are going to bring us. There

"was a fair yesterday, and grandmama gave "me some money, and I bought myself some "pretty things: a Turkish crescent, a whip, "an eagle, and a cross-bow. Think with "love of

"Your little

"ALBERT."

"1826.

"DEAR PAPA,—I thank you for your "letter. We were very merry yesterday. A "great many children played with us. I "wish you could have seen us. Think with "love of

"Your little

"ALBERT."

The last of the letters quoted above refers to a practice which was commenced in the winter of 1825, and was continued without interruption for the next eight years, of having, every Sunday during the winter months, twelve or thirteen boys of their own age to play with them. In subsequent letters from the Prince, frequent allusion will be found to their young associates, and to the games in which they joined with them. From two till six they were allowed to play as they liked. From six till

seven each boy had to recite something: in later years, discussions upon a given subject in some foreign language being substituted for these recitations.[5]

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[5] Memorandum by the reigning Duke of Coburg.

CHAPTER III.

1826—1828.

GOTHA ADDED TO THE POSSESSIONS OF THE DUKE OF COBURG—DIFFICULTIES OF THE SETTLEMENT—LETTERS FROM DOWAGER DUCHESS OF COBURG—SCHOOL FÊTE AT THE ROSENAU—VISITS TO GOTHA—LETTERS FROM DOWAGER DUCHESS OF GOTHA—RECOLLECTIONS OF COUNT ARTHUR MENSDORFF.

IN 1826, after considerable difficulty and discussion, the arrangement was completed by which the Duchy of Gotha was given to the Duke of Coburg.

We need not enter here into the difficulties which attended the negotiations, farther than they will be found noticed in some of the letters that follow from the Dowager Duchess of Coburg. Suffice it to say that, by the death, in 1825, without issue male, of Frederic Duke of Saxe-Gotha-Altenburg, the direct succession of the Gotha-Altenburg branch of

the Ernestine line came to an end, and the inheritance passed to other branches of the same line. After much delay, owing chiefly to the exorbitant pretensions of the Duke of Meiningen, it was finally settled that, in consideration of the acquisition of the Duchy of Gotha, the Duke of Coburg should cede that of Saalfeld to the Duke of Meiningen: Hildburghausen being also added to the inheritance of the latter Duke; the Duke of Hildburghausen receiving in exchange the Duchy of Saxe-Altenburg, and assuming that title.

"Ernest is very busy just now," writes the Dowager Duchess of Coburg, from Ketschendorf, on the 30th May 1826, "as the Saxon "Commissioners are here to settle about the "inheritance. It will be a difficult task, as the "Duke of Meiningen and old K—— are very "obstinate. General M—— is a good and "sensible man, who would like to make all "straight, and fears he will have to return to "Dresden without anything having been settled. " . . . . He went first to Hildburghausen, "taking with him the ultimatum of the old "Duke of Meiningen, who is the senior of the "Ernestine line. . . . . The ultimatum was

"to the effect, that the Duke would enter into "no arrangement, except:—

"1. That he should retain all his possessions, besides acquiring Hildburghausen, "Coburg, and Saalfeld; that he should be the "only Duke of Coburg, founding a new Duchy "of Coburg.

"2. Ernest to have Gotha (Hildburg-"hausen, Altenburg), and to give up the name "which your great-uncle and your brothers "made so celebrated! S—— is gone to Mein-"*ingen with the answer that Ernest will neither* "give up Coburg nor the name of his family."

To the Dowager Duchess of Gotha the termination of the Saxe-Gotha-Altenburg line, and the separation of those Duchies, was an event inexpressibly painful; and she gives vent to her feelings in the following touching letter to the Duke, which, as it relates exclusively to this subject, we insert here, though somewhat anticipating the date at which it was written. Second wife and widow of Duke Augustus, the predecessor of the Duke just deceased, it will be remembered that she was *stepmother to Louise Duchess of Coburg, the* mother of our Princes; and the devoted love

she bore to her step-grandchildren, to which all her letters quoted in this Memoir bear witness, was of a piece with the affectionate and maternal interest this excellent and most amiable woman now expresses in the welfare and happiness of those who had been her husband's subjects.

"I need not tell you," she writes to the Duke of Coburg from Rumpenheim,[1] on the 5th September 1826—"I need not tell you "that I thanked God when I heard that the "Duchy of Gotha had become yours. It was "a great comfort to me, for there is no one in "whom I have more confidence than in your-"self, my dear Duke.[2] But you must also feel

[1] NOTE BY THE QUEEN.—Rumpenheim belonged to the Landgraf of Hesse, father to the Duchess of Cambridge, and uncle to the Duke and Duchess of Gotha, who was daughter of the Elector of Hesse Cassel. It now belongs to the Duchess of Cambridge, her three brothers and two sisters.

[2] Mr. Perthès, on this occasion, wrote as follows to a friend:—"My monarchical principles have gained many "new adherents; for all suddenly fall down before the new "Prince. Certainly he is, like Saul, head and shoulders "taller than the rest of the people, full of princely dignity, "very judicious, and consequently very popular. He knows "and is interested about every subject; in short, the whole "world is bewitched with him, and men of all parties have "suddenly become *ducalised*."—*Memoirs of Frederick Perthès, by his son Professor Perthès of Bonn.*

"and know that this event opens afresh many "wounds. The division of the beloved land, "to which it was my happiness to be a mother, "naturally grieves me. Yet, my dear Duke, I "love you, your precious children, and the dear "country too well, not to keep my heart open "to my beloved people of Gotha; and when-"ever it may be in my power to help these "faithful subjects by word or deed, or by inter-"cession for them with their kind Sovereign, I "will do so as long as God shall spare me.

"I am convinced that you, my dear friend, "will do all in your power to make your new "subjects happy. Their prosperity is now en-"trusted to you. I shall hope for the pleasure "of seeing you and the dear children often at "Gotha. Surely, when you come for the first "time, you intend to bring these darlings with "you, to gratify us all?"

In fact, the hope of now seeing more of her beloved grandchildren was almost her only consolation under the pain caused by this change.

It was not, however, till the month of November that the change was completed by the ratification of the Family Convention giving Gotha to the Duke of Coburg; and it was

towards the end of the year that the Duke, accompanied by the young Princes, made his formal entry into Gotha on taking possession of his new inheritance.

In the meantime the Princes continued to reside as usual, under the care of their tutor, at Coburg and the Rosenau, and in the summer of this year we find them attending a fête of school-children at the latter place, and taking a principal part in the proceedings of the day. The Dowager Duchess of Coburg, writing from Ketschendorf to the Duchess of Kent on the 4th July, thus describes what took place:

"I think I told you that the annual school-"feast had been held on Ernest's birth-day, and "to return this compliment your brother gave "a treat to all the school-children last Sunday. "(He had waited for Leopold.) We dined on "the meadow, and watched from a stand over-"looking the whole place, the arrival of the "little ones in their gay attire. They were to "be treated, at four long tables, to cake and "wine, and later in the evening, to sausages. "1,300 children were thus assembled, and they "must have had lectures on good manners in "their schools, for they behaved exceedingly "well: not indulging in screaming or excessive

"merriment. It was a most pleasant sight, that "of these happy young people playing on the "large meadow, and jumping about like grass-"hoppers. Ernest and Albert went in full "armour to meet a procession of Knights and "Hunters, the whole Freischutz, Samiel in-"cluded, and led them on to the platform to "Leopold. Ernest stammered forth a short "address, (for his comrades confused him,) in "which he thanked his kind uncle for having "come across the sea to spend the feast with "them, and begged his favour for Albert, his "comrades, and himself."

Shortly after this, the Dowager Duchess of Gotha paid a visit to Baden. Passing Meiningen on her way there, the children were sent to that place to see her, and she thus notices their visit, in a letter written from Baden on the 16th July 1826.

"How can I thank you sufficiently for "having sent the dear children to me to "Meiningen? It was the most welcome pre-"sent for my birthday, the day after. I found "them both much improved and grown, looking "so healthy; and Albert more handsome than "ever. Dear Ernest so good and kind.

"I hope the dear children arrived safely at

"home the next day, and have given you many "kind messages from me. I kiss them a "thousand times. They have been so charming "and good.

"Please have the kindness and friendship "to write to me as often as possible, and if "business prevents your doing so, pray let "Florschütz do it, for it would be too painful "to me to be left, whilst so far away, without "constant news from yourself and the dear "children."

The next letter is from the Dowager Duchess of Coburg to the Duchess of Kent:—

"17th August 1826.

"I see by the English newspapers that "'His Majesty[3] and H. R. H. the Duchess of "'Kent went on Virginia Water.' The little "monkey[4] must have pleased and amused "him. She is such a pretty, clever child. "The bigger monkey[5] was always much in "favour.

"Alberinchen looks rather pale this summer. "He is delicate: the heat tries him, and he

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[3] George IV. [4] Princess Victoria.

[5] Princess Feodore, now Princess Hohenlohe.

"grows fast. In jumping and running about "he is as little backward as his brother."

We have already read, in a former letter from the Dowager Duchess of Gotha, her strong and touching expression of affectionate solicitude for the continued happiness and prosperity of a people who were very dear to her as the subjects of her late husband; and in the two following letters, expressive of the love she bore to her grandchildren, the feelings naturally excited by the changes that had occurred at Gotha still show themselves.

"May God spare you and the dearly "beloved children," she writes on the 30th October 1826, "for many years to come, and "grant you every possible happiness. It is "natural that I should be much moved; but "it will, nevertheless, be a great comfort to "see you, and, I hope also, the dear children. "I am sure they will never find a more faithful "or true friend than myself; and of this I trust "you are convinced."

And again on the 26th November of the same year:—

"How thankful I am that you and the "dear children are coming. I will think of

"this as the only alleviation to my sorrow. ". . . Is it not too long a day's journey "from Coburg to Ichtershausen for the dear "children; and in this horrible weather? "Would it not be perhaps better to make this "stage in two days? Excuse this advice, "but I am afraid the children might arrive "unwell."

Soon after this letter was written, the expected visit was paid. The Duke, accompanied by his children, made his formal entry into Gotha, on taking possession of his new inheritance. He remained there, however, but a short time, and returned to Coburg by the beginning of the new year. The weather was bitterly cold, and the Duchess trembled lest the children should suffer on their journey home.

"Thank God!" she writes on 4th January, 1827, "that you and the dear children, whom I "tenderly embrace, have arrived safely at home, "in spite of this terrible weather. I am glad "the latter did not stop at Meiningen. The "cold rooms might have done them harm."

The accession of their father to the Dukedom of Gotha, made a necessary change in the usual round of the young Princes' lives. Up

to this time they had resided constantly at Coburg, or in its immediate vicinity; spending the spring and summer months at the Rosenau, those of autumn and winter in the city. After 1826, Gotha, and Reinhardsbrunn in its immediate neighbourhood, were added to their regular places of abode at certain seasons of the year.

It will easily be imagined, from the tone of the letters from her, which have been already quoted, how much pleasure this gave to the good Duchess their grandmother—how she rejoiced at the arrival of the season which brought them to Gotha, and how fondly she wrote to them, and of them, during their absence at Coburg. Her grandchildren returned her love with equal affection, of which our Prince gives an affecting proof in a beautiful letter, written many years later, to announce his intended marriage.[6] The Duchess writes on the 7th April 1827,—"Yesterday I received "charming letters from the dear children, whom "I thank a thousand times. God grant that "they may continue well, and may escape the "scarlet fever and measles."

It does not appear that, as a child, Prince Albert ever had either of these disorders. He

[6] Chap. x. p. 239.

In December 1827, we again find the children on a visit to their grandmother at Gotha, for she writes to the Duke on the 22nd:—"I hasten to give you news of the "dear children, who are enjoying excellent "health. Since you left us they breakfast with "me, which seems to give them great pleasure. "I hope it was not contrary to your wishes "that I allowed them to go to the opera last "night, as a very good piece was given. The "dear children wish to be respectfully remem-"bered to their beloved father, and hope, with "me, soon to have the pleasure of seeing him "again."

The young Princes remained under their grandmother's care at Gotha till the end of January 1828, and she writes, on their departure, on the 30th of that month:—"I will "not let the dear children go without a line "to recall me to your remembrance, my dear "Duke. God grant that the darlings may "arrive safely at home. They leave this per-"fectly well and happy. Since the 24th they "have been my daily guests in the morning "and afternoon. I cannot say enough in praise "of their good behaviour, and I shall feel the "separation from them very much. To their

"great delight I have gratified their ardent "wish to have another goat, which has been "sent to-day. I entreat that they may be "allowed to keep them all three. They have "already arranged everything for two carriages. "Albert wishes to drive the little goat. Happy "children! how much are they to be envied for "the power of being pleased with so little! I "allowed them to go to the theatre several "times, as they were so delighted with it, and "they had borne the confinement to their "rooms so patiently. Do not let them take "much medicine, nor hear much about their "health; it only makes them nervous. A well-"regulated diet and mode of life is much better "than medicine, and as much air as possible."

"On our dear Ernest's birthday," the Duchess again writes, June 26, 1828,—"I have "also thought much of you, my dear Duke. "May God grant you much happiness through "the good child who, together with his brother, "is our comfort and hope."

Count Mensdorff, married, as has been mentioned, to the Duke's eldest sister, and holding high rank in the Austrian service, was at this time Governor of Mayence; and in 1828 the

young Princes paid a visit there, to his sons their cousins.

Prince Albert, then in his ninth year, gives his father the following account of the visit:—

"*Mayence*, 1828.

"DEAR PAPA,—I cannot thank you half "enough for letting us have the pleasure of "coming to Mayence to see our cousins.

"Mayence was hardly in sight when our "uncle and cousins met us on horseback. We "were very much astonished when we saw "the Rhine in the valley, with its bridge of "boats; but the water of the Maine and the "Rhine is so different that you cannot mistake "them. The Maine has red and the Rhine "green water. . . . Yesterday we drove "to Wiesbaden, and from Wiesbaden rode on "donkeys to the Platte,[8] which is two hours "from Wiesbaden. The day before we were "at Biberich. . . . Keep your love for

"Your

"ALBERT."

The intimacy thus early begun between the cousins seems to have been kept up with undiminished affection throughout life; and

[8] A shooting lodge on the hill above Wiesbaden belonging to the Duke of Nassau.

Count Arthur Mensdorff, in 1863, gives the Queen the following account of his recollections of those early days. It was written, as will be seen, in answer to a wish expressed by the Queen, through the Duchess of Saxe-Coburg; and in addition to the interest attaching to what he tells us of the Prince's boyhood, and of the traits of character that already distinguished him, it affords pleasing evidence of his own affection for his cousin—of manly sorrow for his loss, and sympathy with the Queen's still greater affliction :—

COUNT ARTHUR MENSDORFF TO THE QUEEN.

"*Castle Einöd, March* 16, 1863.

"I WAS deeply touched by the receipt of "your gracious present: the photographs, "which are a real treasure to me, and the "splendid book on the dear, great, Albert.

"The small prints representing you in your "widow's dress have moved me deeply, and "remind me sadly of the last happy days I "spent with you in England in 1848, when "Albert, my dear Aunt, and the whole group of "blooming children were gathered round you. "I hardly dare call them children now, for "some of them are married Princes and

"Princesses, who scarcely remember their old "cousin in the mountains of Styria.

"How terribly has all this changed! How "many noble and beloved beings has it pleased "the Almighty to call into His kingdom, leav- "ing us behind—alone and deserted! But what "a dreadful heavy trial God has sent *you*, my "broken-hearted cousin! And yet it is through "His mercy and loving-kindness that you have "found strength to support the burden of this "joyless life with such beautiful, such exemplary "resignation!

"Alexandrine[9] has written to me that you "wish me to write down all I can recollect of "the early years of our beloved departed one. "I will try and do so.

"Albert, as a child, was of a mild, bene- "volent disposition. It was only what he "thought unjust or dishonest that could make "him angry. Thus I recollect one day when "we children, Albert, Ernest, Ferdinand, "Augustus, Alexander, myself, and a few other "boys (if I am not mistaken, Paul Wangen- "heim was one) were playing at the Rosenau, "and some of us were to storm the old ruined "tower on the side of the castle, which the

9 Duchess of Coburg.

"others were to defend. One of us suggested "that there was a place at the back by which "we could get in without being seen, and thus "capture it without difficulty. Albert declared "that 'this would be most unbecoming in a "'Saxon Knight, who should always attack the "'enemy in front,' and so we fought for the "tower so honestly and vigorously that Albert, "by mistake, for I was on his side, gave me a "blow upon the nose, of which I still bear the "mark. I need not say how sorry he was for "the wound he had given me.

"Albert never was noisy or wild. He was "always very fond of Natural History and more "serious studies, and many a happy hour we "spent in the Ehrenburg,[10] in a small room "under the roof, arranging and dusting the "collections our cousins had themselves made "and kept there. He urged me to begin "making a similar collection myself, so that we "might join, and form together a good cabinet.

"This was the commencement of the collec- "tions at Coburg in which Albert always took "so much interest.

"Albert thoroughly understood the naïveté "of the Coburg national character, and he

10 The Palace at Coburg.

"had the art of turning people's peculiarities "into a source of fun. He had a natural talent "for imitation, and a great sense of the ludicrous, "either in persons or things; but he was never "severe or ill-natured: the general kindness of "his disposition preventing him from pushing a "joke, however he might enjoy it, so as to hurt "any one's feelings. Every man has, more or "less, a ridiculous side, and to *quiz* this, in a "friendly and good-humoured manner, is after "all the pleasantest description of humour. "Albert possessed this rare gift in an eminent "degree.

"From his earliest infancy he was dis-"tinguished for perfect moral purity, both in "word and in deed; and to this he owed the "sweetness of disposition so much admired by "every one.

"Even as a child he was very fond of chess, "and he, Ernest, Alexander, and myself often "played the great four game. This led often "to jokes, but sometimes to ridiculous quarrels, "which however, owing to his goodness of "heart, always ended good-humouredly.

"Whilst still very young his heart was "feelingly alive to the sufferings of the poor. "I saw him one day give a beggar something

"by stealth, when he told me not to speak "of it; 'for when you give to the poor,' "he said, 'you must see that nobody knows "'of it.'

"He was always fond of shooting and "fishing, as far as his natural kind feeling would "permit, for a wounded animal always excited "his warmest compassion.

"One day, out shooting at Coburg, I was "hit by a chance shot, and he was the person "who showed the greatest concern and evinced "the truest anxiety about my accident.

"In order to refresh my memory I have "looked over the letters which our mutual grand-"mother wrote to me when I was a child, and "which I still preserve with other relics. In one "dated March 1st, 1831, she says: 'Last night "'your cousins and some playfellows, Paul Wan-"'genheim, the eldest Gilsa, the little Birner, "'and Emil Piani, acted proverbs in my room, "'extemporizing the dialogue for the most part. "'Albert as a quack, with a pigtail and paunch, "'was too ridiculous. Ernest, as a lady, looked "'quite like your mother when she was a girl: "'he distributed the playbills. Piani repre-"'sented a drunken prompter. In short there "'was a good deal of fun and laughter.'

"In later years we saw much less of each "other. In 1839, when I was serving in the "Austrian Lancers, we met at Töplitz and from "thence drove together to Carlsbad to see "uncle Ernest. Eôs[11] was in the carriage. "During our journey Albert confided to me "under the seal of the strictest confidence that "he was going to England to make your ac-"quaintance, and that if you liked each other "you were to be engaged. He spoke very "seriously about the difficulties of the position "he would have to occupy in England, but "hoped that dear uncle Leopold would assist "him with his advice. We were at that "moment approaching the station where we "were to change horses. He asked me the "name of the place, which I told him was "Buchau, a little village known all round as a "sort of *Krähwinkel*, famous for all sorts of "ludicrous stories about the inhabitants. We "drove into the place, the postilion blowing his "horn and cracking his whip. Albert seeing a "large crowd assembled round the posthouse "said to me, 'Quick, stoop down in the carriage

[11] A beautiful and favourite black greyhound, Eôs, the Prince brought with him to England.

"'and we will make Eôs look out of the "'window, and all the people will wonder at the "'funny Prince.' We did so, and the people "had to satisfy their curiosity with Eôs. The "horses were soon changed, and we drove off, "laughing heartily at our little joke.

"Some time ago I collected all the letters "I have of dearest Albert's, and in one of them "I found a passage most characteristic of his "noble way of thinking, as shown and main-"tained by him from his earliest childhood.

"'The poor soldiers,' he says, 'always do "'their duty in the most brilliant manner; "'but as soon as matters come again into "'the hands of politicians and diplomats, "'everything is again spoiled and confused. "'Oxenstiern's saying to his son may still "'be quoted: "My son, when you look at "'things more closely, you will be surprised "'to find with how little wisdom the world is "'governed." I should like to add, 'and with "'how little morality.'"

"How much these words contain! We "again see the Saxon knight, who as a "child declared that you must attack your "enemy in front, who hates every crooked "path; and, on the other hand, the noble heart

"which feels deeply the misfortune of a govern-
"ment not guided by reason and morality.

"I am sorry to say that these are all my "recollections of old times. The changes we "have had, the wars and revolutions, may "have obliterated many dear recollections.

"The noise of the festivities around you "will have been most painful to you, causing "many a wound to bleed afresh.

"May the Almighty bless this young pair, "and may Albert's spirit descend upon his "son."

"ARTHUR MENSDORFF."

CHAPTER IV.

1828—1831.

LIFE AT THE ROSENAU, ETC.—JOURNALS AND LETTERS OF PRINCE ALBERT—DEATH OF THE DOWAGER DUCHESS OF COBURG.

THE years 1829 and 1830 seem to have been passed by the Princes in the quiet routine of their studies and other occupations, their residence at Coburg and the Rosenau being only interrupted by the visits, now grown periodical, to Gotha.

The Duke, their father, had been absent for some time in the winter of 1828-29, and on the 16th January of the latter year, we find Prince Albert, now in the tenth year of his age, writing by direction of his grandmother (probably from Ketschendorf, where she resided), to say how sorry they were at his staying away so long, and to express their joy to hear he was soon coming back. Again, on the 28th of the same

month, he gives his father an account of the manner in which he and his brother, with their young companions, the sons of the principal people of Coburg, who came constantly on Sundays and other holidays to play with them, according to the practice established, as already noticed, in 1825, had been amusing themselves.

They dragged some small hand-sledges up to the Festung (the old fortress above Coburg), and "there," he writes, "we and "some other boys got into our sledges, and "went the whole way down to the gate of the "Schloss."

In March 1829, we find the young Princes, with their tutor, going out to dine with their grandmother at Ketschendorf. The following letter in which this is mentioned, is also interesting from the insight it gives into the sound and liberal views of the Duchess. What a salutary influence must she not have exercised over the young and candid mind of our Prince, and how much may she not have contributed, by her precepts and her example, to the development of those truly liberal and constitutional principles by which he was always distinguished?

This letter is written to the Duchess of Kent, evidently in answer to one in which the Duchess must have mentioned the introduction, by the government of the Duke of Wellington, of a Bill for the Emancipation of the Roman Catholics.

"In spite of your great prudence, my dear," the Duchess writes, on the 23rd March, "I "must speak of politics—namely, that which "now interests me—the Emancipation! I say, "'God save the King;' and again, 'God bless "'the Duke of Wellington!' It is very right "in the Hero of the Peninsula to stand up so "manfully for what he commenced with so "much judgment. How they will laugh at the "Prussian General, whom they do not like as it "is, at Berlin! Ernest begs to be remembered "to you. He is very busy planting. The cold "March of this spring is more favourable to it "than usual.

"I must leave off now, as my company is "just arriving for dinner, namely, the young "gentlemen and Mr. Florschütz. They are "dear boys; so clever and merry. Ernest is "beginning to grow handsome. He has very "fine brown eyes, white teeth, and a fair and

"rosy complexion. He will have his father's "fine tall figure. Albert is very good-looking, "very clever, but is not so strong as his "brother."

In July of this year the brothers were again on a visit to their other grandmother at Gotha: "Let me give you," the Duchess writes to the Duke, on the 31st July, "the assurance that "our dear children are very well and happy. "I see them every day, and often more than "once. Yesterday afternoon they dined with "me, and rode out afterwards. They have "just breakfasted with me, and to-morrow "they intend making a little excursion to "Gleichen."

In a journal kept by the Prince in 1830, when he was not yet eleven years old, he gives an account, which is not without interest, of the manner in which he and his brother were in the habit of amusing themselves with their young companions; he also describes the great Protestant Festival, in celebration of the Confession of Augsburg, which was held at Coburg in June of that year.

The Princes were very fond of assuming the characters of the most distinguished worthies

of old times, and of making the most remarkable incidents in bygone German history the subject of their games. On the occasion mentioned in the following extracts from Prince Albert's journal, it is not without interest to observe that when the boy selected to play the Emperor was missing, he was to be replaced by another boy chosen by lot from amongst those who were to represent the different Dukes. The lot fell worthily on the Prince himself.

But the journal is chiefly interesting from one short entry in it strongly indicative of that trait in the Prince's character which was, perhaps, the most remarkable, as being, certainly, the most rare in those born to such high rank—his thoughtful consideration, namely, for others. When lamenting the disappointment to himself and his companions of the pleasure which they had promised themselves, and which a wet day put a stop to, his thoughts seem to turn quite naturally to the still wider disappointment occasioned to the children of the whole town, whose festival was spoilt by the bad weather.

The extracts here given embrace a period extending from January to the end of August, 1830:—

"*17th January.*

"*Sunday.*—When I woke this morning, the "first thing I thought of was the afternoon "when we expected our playfellows. The "tallest and one of the cleverest, Emil Gilsa, "was to be our Emperor. Ernest was to be "Duke of Saxony, and was to have two Counts "Rottenhahn, the elder M. von Schauroth, a "Preger and a Borner, and one of our rooms "was to be his Duchy.

"Paul von Wangenheim was to be Duke of "Bavaria, and his followers were to be the "younger M. von Schauroth, a Piani and a "Müller, and he also had a room; and I was to "be Duke of Burgundy, and Herman, Achill, "Victor and Edward von Gilsa were to belong "to me, and another of our rooms was to be "my Duchy. We dined with dear Grand-"mama. After dinner we returned home, and "our playfellows had already arrived; but "we heard with great horror that Achill and "Emil von Gilsa (our chosen Emperor) were "ill, and that the two Mess. von Schauroth "were gone out sledging and would come "later. We therefore decided on choosing "an Emperor from among the Dukes, and "lots were to decide who it was to

"Fortune favoured me and I was Emperor. We "played very happily till half-past eight o'clock."

"*8th April.*

"*Thursday.*—This morning at eight o'clock "we went to the Church in the town, where "they sang Graun's music. After church, we "went on foot to the Kalenberg. Here the "stork had made us some presents. When we "had found all the eggs and cracknels, we "dined with dear Papa. . . ."

"*9th April.*

"*Friday.*—To-day we went to the town "church again at eight o'clock, where they sang "the third part of Graun's Passion music. . . . "After church Papa showed us a large leaden "birdcage, which he was going to give us on "our birth-day. In the centre of the cage was "an owl, and a fountain of water spirted from "his beak up to the top of the cage."

"*17th April.*

"After dinner I played with our com-"panions. We played Wallenstein's Camp. "Leopold was Wallenstein. After that we "went downstairs, then we came up again, and "our companions went away. Then we dined, "and afterwards went to the play, where Wal-"lenstein was stabbed. . . ."

"*26th April.*

. . . "We dined with Papa at the "Rosenau. Then we went home, where I "sang with the Rath."

"*21st June.*

"To-day was my brother Ernest's birthday. "We spent this day, in spite of the rain, very "happily together.

"We drove into the town after dear Papa "had given Ernest many beautiful presents, "and visited dear Grandmama. The bad "weather not only spoiled our happiness, but "that of the children of the whole town too, as "just on this day a school-festival happened to "fall.

"We spent the afternoon at Ketschendorf "with some of our companions.

"In the evening we went to see a menagerie "which consisted chiefly of serpents."

Celebration of the third Secular-Festival of the Confession of Augsburg. This Festival was celebrated during three days.

"*25th June.*

"*Friday.*—This morning we drove into the "town in order to take part personally in the "proceedings of this day, which is such an "important one for Protestants. The ceremony

"commenced at nine o'clock. It consisted prin-"cipally of a very fine and long procession, "which I will now describe.

"A band of music led the way; then came "the students of the Gymnasium with all their "professors: they were followed by all the boys "from the school, with their teachers; then "came all the clergy, who moved slowly for-"wards, chaunting as they went along; next "came the two chamberlains with their long "wands; they were followed by dear Papa and "the whole court; and all the officials of the "town brought the procession to a close.

"It was a most imposing sight. The pro-"cession wound round the market-place to the "Church of St. Moritz, at the doors of which "the clergy were stationed.

"The General Superintendent Genzler "addressed a few words to dear Papa, in which "he mentioned the Electors who used to cele-"brate this festival in these sacred walls. He "concluded with a blessing.

"All who stood round were moved to tears "by this address. In the Church the General "Superintendent also preached. No proces-"sion left the Church.

"We spent the afternoon at Ketschendorf,

"whilst dear Papa paid a visit to the King of "Bavaria at Banz."

"*26th June.*

"*Saturday.*—This day was devoted particularly to the young people.

"At nine o'clock we went to the school-house and heard a discourse on the present "festival by the Co-rector Gremier. Then we "went to General Superintendent Genzler's "garden, and afterwards to the Gymnasium, "where we heard another discourse on the "festival by Director Wendel.

"In the afternoon all the school-children, "joined by several schools from the country "and the students of the Gymnasium, accompanied by an immense concourse of people, "went up to the fortress."

"*27th June.*

"*Sunday.*—We breakfasted to-day in the "Hof-garden, and experienced great heat. At "ten o'clock we went to church. This day was "the third day of the festival. We dined with "the company also in the Hof-garden. In the "evening Ernest drove with Papa to Ketschendorf. I could not go with them as my nose "bled. We did not remain much longer at

"commenced at nine o'clock. It consisted principally of a very fine and long procession, "which I will now describe.

"A band of music led the way; then came "the students of the Gymnasium with all their "professors: they were followed by all the boys "from the school, with their teachers; then "came all the clergy, who moved slowly forwards, chaunting as they went along; next "came the two chamberlains with their long "wands; they were followed by dear Papa and "the whole court; and all the officials of the "town brought the procession to a close.

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"We spent the afternoon at Ketschendorf,

"Coburg, but returned immediately to the "Rosenau."

"*9th July.*

"*Friday.*—It rained so incessantly the "whole morning, that we thought there was "going to be another Deluge. . . ."

"*11th July.*

"*Sunday.*—This was a very pleasant and "happy day for us. . . . The Rosenau was "visited by town and country people, as if there "had been a fête here. . . . In the morning "Paul (Wangenheim) paid us a visit, and helped "us to draw some of the scenes in our stories. "In the afternoon we had the pleasure of "having seven of our playfellows to dinner, "with whom we then played very happily till "the evening."

"*28th and 29th July.*

"*Wednesday* passed in the usual manner. "On Thursday the Bird-shooting began. We "had our lessons in the morning as usual, and "after dinner drove to Ketschendorf, from "whence we were to go with dear Grandmama "to the Green, where a party was to be given in "honour of Aunt Julia. The heat was oppres-"sive, and many people were there. . . ."

"*25th August.*

"*Wednesday.*—Papa is going to Gotha to-"morrow: therefore my birthday, which is "*really* to-morrow, is to be kept to-day. I was "awoke by some beautiful music. At 9 o'clock "Papa gave me a quantity of beautiful presents. ". . . We dined in the afternoon with some of "our companions at the Rosenau. After dinner "we played very happily with our playfellows. "In the evening we were at a ball in the Castle "at Coburg, and only got to bed at half-past "10 o'clock."

On the 24th May of this year the young Princess Victoria had completed her eleventh year, and her grandmother, the Dowager Duchess of Coburg, sends the following beautiful letter of congratulation to her daughter on the occasion:

"*May 1830.*

"My blessings and good wishes for the day "which gave you the sweet blossom of May! "May God preserve and protect the valuable "life of that lovely flower from all the dangers "that will beset her mind and heart! The rays "of the Sun are scorching at the height to "which she may one day attain. It is only by "the blessing of God that all the fine qualities

"He has put into that young soul can be kept "pure and untarnished. How well I can sym-"pathize with the feelings of anxiety that must "possess you when that time comes. God who "has helped you through so many bitter hours "of grief, will be your help still. Put your "trust in Him!"

Again, after the death of George IV., in June following: "God bless Old England, where "my beloved children live, and where the sweet "blossom of May may one day reign! May "God yet for many years keep the weight of a "crown from her young head! and let the in-"telligent clever child grow up to girlhood be-"fore this dangerous grandeur devolves upon "her!"

One of the first acts of the Parliament that met after the accession of William IV. was to pass a Regency Bill, by which it was settled, that in the event of the King's death, the Regency, during the young Princess's minority, should be given to the Duchess of Kent. The following letter refers to this arrangement:

"*Dec.* 7, 1830.

"I should have been very sorry if the "Regency had been given into other hands

"than yours. It would not have been a just "return for your constant devotion and care "to your child, if this had not been done. "May God give you wisdom and strength to "do your duty if called upon to undertake it. "May God bless and protect our little darling! "If I could but once see her again! The print "you sent me of her is not like the dear picture "I have. The quantity of curls hide the well-"shaped head and make it look too large for "the lovely little figure."

But we must return to the young Princes, who had, as usual, been spending the greatest part of the year at Coburg.

On the 19th July, the Prince writes to his father to say they are quite well; and, after telling him what they have been doing, adds: "We have plenty of time to work both in the "house and in the garden, and employ it well "in working hard to become good and useful "men, and to give you pleasure."

The Prince was now in his twelfth year, and all his letters give unmistakable proof of his natural warmth of heart. They are full of the most simple and unaffected expressions of his affection for his father, of love for their home, and of his anxious desire to improve himself,

and make the most of his time; and this last desire not expressed, as is too often the case, without much thought, or with only a passing wish to please a father; but as the ruling impulse of his heart, which never ceased to influence him till the day of his death.

In January 1831, the Duke seems to have left the Princes at the Rosenau while he himself went to Gotha, and on the 30th Prince Albert writes:

"Dear Papa—We were really anxious about "your journey, for we feared that you would "have been stopped in your sledge, as, with us, "it rained nearly the whole day; and we were "the more rejoiced to hear yesterday, from "dear grandmama, that you had arrived safely. "But the weather has quite changed. It "snowed without stopping for three or four "days, and the snow is very deep. The drifts "are six feet high at the Festung, as we found "out ourselves yesterday. We walked to "Ketschendorf, and thence through the snow, "by an unbeaten track through Herr von "Schauroth's garden, to the Festung, and sank "several times up to our middle in the snow. "To-day it is beautiful, but cold, for it is twelve "degrees below the freezing-point.

"You will forgive me, dear Papa, for not "writing to you before, but we had so much to "do all the week that I could not do so till to-"day—Sunday. We are quite well, and hope "that you are as well at Gotha. Prince Reuss "will be present at the Academy to-day, and as "soon as I have finished my letter I will work at "my poem, that I may get the prize this afternoon.

"'Fünfter'[1] visits us still very often. We "hope soon to see you again, and with this "hope I remain

"Your attached son,

"ALBERT.

"*Coburg, 30th January* 1831."

This was the year when Europe was so severely visited by the Cholera, and (whether owing to this circumstance or not—the Rosenau being probably exempt from the *visitation*—is not mentioned) Prince and Princess Ferdinand, brother and sister-in-law to the Duke, with their children and the Princess Kohary, spent part of the year at the Rosenau. In July of that year, however, the brothers were *again* here by themselves; and here, with the exception of a short visit to their grandmother at

[1] A young Prince Reuss V., who (as is generally the case in that family) was called by his number.

Gotha, they seem to have remained during the absence of the Duke, who paid a visit to England in the course of that month. The letters which follow allude to that visit, and give a pleasing account of the life of the young Princes meanwhile at the Rosenau :—

"*Rosenau, July* 6, 1831.

"DEAR PAPA,—The weather lately, although "not cold, has been very dull, and it has rained "a great deal. The water was very high. At "one time a dreadful storm of hail swept over "the valley of our Rosenau, and we were afraid "it would have destroyed every thing. How-"ever, it did no harm, and at this moment the "Rosenau is looking more beautiful than ever "in the sunshine.

"Please to give our best remembrances to "dear uncle, dear aunt,[2] and to our dear cousin.[3]

"Hoping soon to see you again,

"I remain

"Your most loving son,

"ALBERT."

"*Rosenau, July* 1831.

"DEAR PAPA,—You will long before this "have reached your journey's end, and will

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[2] The Duchess of Kent. [3] Princess Victoria.

"already have gone all over London. I wish "I was with you, to see all the sights that you "will have seen. We heard of you yesterday "from Thiel, the last place at which you passed "the night; and we were very glad to hear "that you were quite well. We are also quite "well, dear Papa, and though I should like to "be with you, yet we like being here also, and "are very happy at the Rosenau. The quiet "of the place too is very agreeable, for our "time is well regulated and divided. The day "before yesterday was the fête of the Gym-"nasium at Coburg, to which we were invited; "so we drove into the town in the morning, "and heard a beautiful speech from Professor "Troupheller. I am sure it would have pleased "you.

"We stayed the whole day at Coburg, as "our Grand-Aunt arrived in the afternoon from "Lobenstein, and we visited her immediately. "She is staying at Ketschendorf with dear "Grandmama.

"We are going next Saturday to Gotha, to "which we look forward with much pleasure. "We will write to you from thence, and tell "you how we made the journey. If the "weather is only 'good!'"

The visit to Gotha was paid accordingly, but the letter giving an account of it was not written till after their return to the Rosenau, and was as follows:—

"*The Rosenau, July* 19, 1831.

"DEAR PAPA,—Although I hear that this "letter will not reach you in England, it shall "not prevent my writing to you, both to tell "you how well we are, and to give you an "account of our journey.

"We found dear Grandmama very well at "Gotha, and much pleased to see us again. "She was particularly cheerful on her birth-day, "and said that no birth-day present had ever "given her so much pleasure as that we gave "her in your name on that day. She was also "equally pleased with two little poems that we "made for her.

"We stayed five days at Gotha, and drove "on the fifth day, after dinner, to Wolsdorf, "from whence we returned here the next day, "coming by the Frauenwalde and Eisfeld. "From Schalkau to the Rosenau we walked, "and got here by half-past five. We took the "road by Schalkau because we had never been "in that part of the country before.

"We are now quite settled here, at the "quiet Rosenau, and have resumed our usual "hours. We only want you to be here, to be "completely happy. We are just returned from "Ketschendorf, where we dined with dear "Grandmama, and she assured us you would "now soon return. You do not know, dear "Papa, how I long for your arrival. We have "been long wishing for you. I am sure you "will be glad to see the dear Rosenau again. "It is now in great beauty; and I will therefore "end now, as I wish to enjoy this beautiful "evening a little while longer, and it is already "eight o'clock. "Your

"ALBERT."

In August 1831 the mother of the Princes died, as has been already mentioned, at St. Wendel. And in the November following they had to mourn the loss of their kind and beloved grandmother, the Duchess Dowager of Coburg. We have seen her, in a former chapter, watching with the fondest maternal solicitude by the bedside of her daughter-in-law, at the birth of the Prince. We have read her letters, breathing the purest spirit of anxious and devoted love for her grandchildren, and full of

CHAPTER V.

1832—1833.

VISIT OF THE PRINCES TO BRUSSELS—REMARRIAGE OF THE DUKE—MR. FLORSCHÜTZ' RECOLLECTIONS OF MODE OF LIFE, SYSTEM OF STUDY, ETC.

In the summer of 1832 the young Princes accompanied their father to Brussels on a visit to their uncle Leopold, who, in the course of the preceding year, had been chosen to be the Sovereign of the newly created kingdom of Belgium.

The King of the Belgians, speaking in 1862, in a letter to the Queen, of this visit, says that it was then that she and Prince Albert met for the first time. This, however, is a mistake. The Queen saw the Prince foı the first time at Kensington Palace, during a visit paid by the brothers to England in 1836, and which will be noticed in its place.

tary establishment there. They made so much progress, that before they left, they swam down the stream from the bridge of Mayence to Biberich, a distance of three miles. Soon after their return, Prince Albert writes as follows to his father:—

"*Rosenau, 21st September 1832.*

"DEAR PAPA,—Let me assure you that we "are perfectly well. I am sorry that since the "day of your departure *till* yesterday, the "weather has not always been fine. It must "have spoiled some of your nice shooting-"parties.

"We have also had very bad weather here, "rain and cold winds; but this has disturbed us "very little, for we were all the better able to "devote our time to our studies. We are "working with the greatest diligence, in order "to make up for what we may have lost on our "journey. The weather, however, has not pre-"vented us from amusing ourselves out of "doors; we are working very industriously at "our fortification, and have already made great "progress, so that I am sure you will give us "full credit for our industry in this respect "when you return.

"Yesterday we had a windy but at the same "time a warm bright day.

"Besides what I have told you, nothing has "taken place worthy of notice. Pray give my "respectful love to dear Grandmama, and "hoping soon to see you again, I recommend "myself to your loving remembrance.

"Your dutiful son,

"ALBERT."

In the autumn of this year the Duke remarried. The new Duchess was his own niece —being the daughter of his sister Princess Antoinette, married to Duke Alexander of Würtemberg.[1] In November the brothers accompanied their father to the Castle of Thalwitz, in Saxony, there to await the arrival of the Princess from Petersburg. Thence they escorted her to her new home.

The Prince was now in his fourteenth year, and was fast developing that power of thinking and judging for himself which distinguished him so greatly in after life.

The ardent desire for the acquisition of

1 NOTE BY THE QUEEN.—Princess Mary of Würtemberg, born September 17th, 1799. She was consequently one year older than the Duke's first wife, mother of the Princes.

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knowledge, always so characteristic of the Prince, as well as his love of order and method, show themselves, even at this early age, very remarkably, in a programme drawn up by himself at this time for his guidance in the prosecution of his studies. We here see in the boy the same feeling which led him to rebel later against the interruption of his work at the Rosenau,[2] and to complain of the want of method which marked, he thought, the course laid down for him in the study of English law.[3]

This programme is given, as written out in the Prince's own handwriting, at the end of an interesting Memorandum by his old tutor, Councillor Florschütz, in which he (the Councillor) records his recollections of the Prince as a boy, and gives an account of the nature of his studies and the manner in which they were regulated. It will be seen that, though not neglected, classics and mathematics did not hold the prominent, not to say the exclusive place in their system of education which these branches of study occupy in England. The study of modern languages, of history, of the natural sciences, of music, and generally of those

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[2] See pp. 209 & 211. [3] See p. 362.

accomplishments which serve to embellish and adorn life, had many hours in each week devoted to them.

The amount of work which the Prince thus traces for himself would probably not only seem excessive to the most studious English school-boy (and we must remember that the Prince at this time was only of the age of a school-boy), but was such as a hard-reading man at one of our universities might almost have shrunk from. Be it also remembered that the principal parts of these studies are what his tutor describes as "self-imposed." From six o'clock in the morning to one in the afternoon, and on two days of the week till two o'clock, there was continuous work, excepting, of course, the time required for breakfast. From one to six was given up to out-door exercises and recreation, dinner, &c.; and the day concluded with two hours' more work from six to eight.

It must not be supposed, however, that this programme was strictly carried into effect. It will be seen from the Memorandum, how much their tutor complained of the interruptions caused by the frequent changes of residence, and by the system of breakfasting in the open air at different places, and sometimes at a con-

scientific lessons from home; but as a scheme of study laid down by the young Princes themselves, and as far as was possible adhered to, it may well command our admiration. It may also be remarked that though their tutor in this paper seems only to lament the interruption occasioned to their studies, he elsewhere mentions the frequent changes of residence as "advantageous rather than otherwise, and as "tending to encourage the habit of observation "and to enlarge their minds."

The Memorandum is as follows:—

"In May 1823, when I first undertook the "care and education of Prince Albert, he was "still so young and little, that he willingly "allowed me to carry him up and down stairs.

"Every grace had been showered by nature "on this charming boy. Every eye rested on "him with delight, and his look won the hearts "of all. I thus entered enthusiastically upon "the discharge of my important task, the more "so that I met with the entire confidence of "his parents—a confidence never impaired or "withdrawn from the beginning to the end "of the Prince's education. To the con- "fidence thus reposed in me the success of "my labours was mainly due; for, without it,

"no uniform plan could have been followed, no "certain system observed; but differences of "opinion, and an uncertain and fluctuating "course of education, would inevitably have "followed.

"Difficulties indeed there were which showed "themselves at the very outset; and but for the "love and confidence with which the young "Princes attached themselves from the first to "their tutor, the peculiar circumstances of the "time would doubtless have exercised a perni-"cious influence.

"Amongst these difficulties was the parti-"ality shown in the treatment of the children "by their mother. Endowed with brilliant "qualities, handsome, clever, and witty, pos-"sessed of eloquence and of a lively and fervid "imagination, Duchess Louise was wanting in "the essential qualifications of a mother. She "made no attempt to conceal that Prince Albert "was her favourite child. He was handsome "and bore a strong resemblance to herself. "He was, in fact, her pride and glory. The "influence of this partiality upon the minds "of the children might have been most in-"jurious; and to this was added the unfortu-"nate differences which soon followed, and by

"which the peace of the family was disturbed: "differences that, gradually increasing, led to a "separation between the Duke and Duchess in "*1824, and a divorce in 1826.*

"It is a satisfaction to me to reflect that "these sad events did not interfere perma-"nently with the happiness of my beloved "pupils, and that with the cheerfulness and "entire innocence of childhood, they retained "their respectful and obedient love for their "parents.

"Thus deprived of a mother's love and "care, the children necessarily depended more "entirely on that shown by their tutor; and he "is conscious of having thrown himself with all "his heart and strength into his task; of having "given himself up with unceasing solicitude and "the most entire devotion to the good of his "pupils. And he was rewarded by their "showing their sense of this by their love and "confidence, their liking to be with him, and the "entire unreserve with which they showed their "*inmost thoughts and feelings in his presence.* "Time only strengthened the cordial relations "thus established between the tutor and his "pupils, which lasted unimpaired during the "whole period of the education of the Princes,

"till the close of their residence at Bonn in the "year 1838.

"Nor did the regard of Prince Albert for "me cease with the termination of his studies. "I was ever honoured with the proofs of his "continued good-will. The last mark of his "affection was given to me but a short time "before his death; and I stand daily before the "valued picture which he then sent me, to weep "for my beloved pupil and friend.

"Throughout the course of his education "much care was bestowed on the due regulation "of hours, though circumstances made it more "difficult to adhere to them than could have "been wished.

"Up to his tenth year, Prince Albert usually "rose between six and seven in summer and "between seven and eight in winter. The "lively spirits with which he at once entered "into the games of childhood, or the more "serious occupations of youth, spoke the healthy "tone of mind and body. The children break-"fasted with their parents between nine and "ten. The Duke himself summoned them to "the meal, unless the breakfast was in the open "air, in which case the task of conducting them "to the place, seldom the same two days fol-

"lowing, devolved on me. As this custom "prevailed from early spring to late in the "autumn, the breakfast, from Coburg, being "constantly held in the Hof Gardens, at the "Festung, the Kallenberg, at Ketschendorf, or "in the Rosenau—and from Gotha in like "manner at various places—the greater part of "the forenoon was inevitably wasted, to the in-"terruption of useful studies and occupations.* "The Duke, however, was indifferent to this, "and we can only wonder that the Princes, not-"withstanding, retained their love for study.

"Dinner, which till his eleventh year Prince Albert had regularly alone with his brother and tutor, was at one o'clock. Between four "and five, when the Duke's dinner was over, "he had to appear before the company, after "which he paid a visit to his grandmother, the "Dowager Duchess Augusta; and no morning "passed, when at Gotha, without a visit to his "maternal grandmother, the Duchess Caroline "of Saxe-Gotha-Altenburg.

"At seven o'clock the Prince supped, "and was glad to retire to bed as soon after "as possible. An irresistible feeling of

* NOTE BY THE QUEEN.—The Prince often spoke of this.

"sleepiness would come over him in the "evening, which he found it difficult to resist "even in after life; and even his most cherished "occupations, or the liveliest games, were, at "such times, ineffectual to keep him awake.[5]

"If prevented from going to bed he would "suddenly disappear, and was generally found "sleeping quietly in the recess of the window— "for repose of some kind, though but for a "quarter of an hour, was then indispensable; "on one occasion—the first time I was present "at his supper—the young Prince suddenly fell "asleep and tumbled off his chair, but he was "not hurt, and continued to sleep quietly on "the ground.

"The hours above mentioned were con- "stantly observed till the Prince was eleven "years of age, after which he always dined with "his father at three (the place of dinner being "as uncertain as that of the breakfast), and "attended the evening-parties at court.

"Some change necessarily took place in the "nature and regulation of the Prince's studies "and occupations, with the progress of time "and changes of place; but the end kept in

5 NOTE BY THE QUEEN.—The Prince told me this frequently.

"view was still the improvement of body and "mind—his advance in health, usefulness, and "goodness.

"Before I came to the Prince he had already "had a daily master of the name of Tonnelen, "but even after I took him in charge, I need "hardly say that my chief occupation was, at "first, to promote play and exercise in the open "air—to tell stories, or explain pictures to my "young charge.

"*At six his regular lessons commenced.* At "first only one hour a day; from his seventh to "his ninth year three hours—one before and "another after breakfast, and one in the after-"noon. From his ninth to his eleventh year "the time was extended to four hours, but as "two hours of this time were given after break-"fast they were too often interrupted by the "distance of the place of breakfast. Bodily "exercises, also regulated at fixed hours, and "amusement, filled up the rest of the day.

"After his twelfth year the course of "instruction was considerably extended, but the "time given for regular lessons seldom exceeded "five hours. Subsequently, when studying at "Brussels and Bonn, even that number of hours "was seldom reached, for much time was there

"given to his own particular studies and "occupations.

"It will be interesting to read the programme "of studies which I enclose, drawn up by the "Prince himself in his fourteenth year, for the "regulation of his time at the Rosenau. I need "not add that it includes all his own or self-"imposed tasks.

"It is difficult for me to specify particularly "the instruction given by myself. During his "early years I taught him everything except "music and drawing, and up to his going to "Brussels he received from me his instruction "in religion, in history, geography, philosophy, "and Latin. He had masters from his tenth "year in German and mathematics. At "Brussels I continued to give lectures on two "subjects, but when he went to Bonn I ceased "to give personal instruction, and merely exer-"cised a general superintendence over his "whole course of study. It was not till after "he left the university that I parted from the "beloved Prince.

"The Prince's establishment, when I entered "on my duties, consisted of a man and a maid "servant. The former, named Wäschenfelder, "was an excellent, trustworthy man, and died a

"few years ago. The latter still lives at "Coburg, a widow, and blind; she depends for "her subsistence upon the pension bestowed "upon her by the Prince.

"The valet, 'Cart,' was engaged in April "1829, and at first attended on both Princes, "but after 1839 on Prince Albert only. He "was a faithful, attentive, and obedient servant, "and deserved the confidence reposed in "him.[6]

"Though the Prince's health was generally "good, he had more than one illness, and was "subject to serious, and sometimes even "alarming attacks of croup,[7] which the most "trifling cause, the slightest attack of cold, was "sufficient to bring on. At such times the "characteristic qualities of H. R. H's mind "displayed themselves very remarkably. I "shall never forget the gentle goodness, the "affectionate patience he showed when suffering "under slight feverish attacks. His heart "seemed then to open to the whole world.

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[6] NOTE BY THE QUEEN.—He remained with the Prince till August 1858, when he died.

[7] NOTE BY THE QUEEN.—Leeches had constantly to be applied for these attacks, the marks of which remained till he was quite grown up.

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"He would form the most noble projects for "execution after his recovery—and though "apparently not satisfied with himself, he "displayed a temper and disposition which I "may characterize as being, in thought and in "deed, perfectly angelic. I cannot recall these "recollections, even now, without the deepest "emotion!

"These attacks of croup were of frequent "recurrence up to the Prince's tenth year, and "often occasioned a hoarseness which lasted "several days, and gave him much annoyance. "It is possible that the remedies adopted may "have been insufficient, but it is well that some "of the measures proposed were not adopted, "such, for instance, as passing a hair through "the Prince's throat!

"I have no recollection of Prince Albert's "ever having had the *whooping* cough.[8] Could "the Prince have mistaken the more severe and "lasting cough which, on one occasion, followed "the croup for that disorder? or is it possible "that this malady of my beloved pupil's should "have so entirely escaped my memory, although

8 NOTE BY THE QUEEN.—This is a mistake. He certainly had it.

"it usually lasts so long, and worries children "so much?

"Nor am I more certain about the scarlet "fever.[9] In the year 1829 this disease was "prevalent in Gotha. Dr. Dorl, at that time the "resident court physician, though able and "learned, was of the old theoretic school, and, "unfortunately, both pedantic and nervous. "One afternoon a slight redness showed itself "on the palm of the left hand, and on the "neck of the Hereditary Prince, which the "doctor at once rightly pronounced to be scar-"let fever. He was at once ordered to bed, "but as the brothers lived entirely together, it "was assumed that if one had the disorder the "other must have it also, so Prince Albert was "also put to bed and kept there for eight days, "though no symptoms of the fever showed "themselves upon him, nor even upon the "Hereditary Prince, beyond the redness I have "mentioned. In bed, however, the two Princes "had to remain for eight days, when the "doctor was convinced the fever had passed. "My own belief is that they never had it at all.

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9 NOTE BY THE QUEEN.—This the Prince also mentioned.

"In his early youth Prince Albert was very "shy, and he had long to struggle against this "feeling. He disliked visits from strangers, "and at their approach would run to the furthest "corner of the room, and cover his face with "his hands; nor was it possible to make him "look up, or speak a word. If his doing so "was insisted upon, he resented to the utmost, "screaming violently. On one occasion, at a "child's fancy ball given by the Duchess, Prince "Albert, then in his fifth year, was brought "down and a little girl was selected as his "partner; but when it came to his turn to move "on, after the other dancers, nothing could induce "him to stir,[10] and his loud screams were heard "echoing through the rooms. The Duchess, "thus *agreeably* surprised, exclaimed: 'This "comes of his *good* education.'

"The Duke once undertook to punish the "Prince for his supposed obstinacy. When "the screams were next heard, therefore, the "Duke, sending me out with the Hereditary "Prince, resolved to try whether a small cane "would not succeed in pacifying the 'little

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10 NOTE BY THE QUEEN.—An anecdote the Prince remembered quite well. He was dressed as a little Cupid.

"'obstinate.' On our return, however, Prince "Albert was still crying, and the Duke, who "had not had the heart to administer the pun- "ishment he intended, was glad to be relieved "from his self-imposed task.

"Even with his brother the Prince showed, "at this time, rather too strong a will of his "own, and this disposition came out at times "even in later years. Surpassing his brother "in thoughtful earnestness, in calm reflection "and self-command, and evincing, at the same "time, more prudence in action; it was only "natural that his will should prevail, and when "compliance with it was not voluntarily yielded, "he was sometimes disposed to have recourse "to compulsion. The distinguishing charac- "teristics of the Prince's disposition were his "winning cheerfulness and his endearing amia- "bility. His disposition was always to take a "cheerful view of life, and to see its best side. "He was fond of fun and practical jokes, and "on one occasion drew down a scolding from "his father, by getting his instructor in che- "mistry to fill a number of small glass vessels, "about the size of a pea, with sulphuretted "hydrogen, which he threw about the floor of "the pit and boxes of the Theatre, to the great

"annoyance and discomfiture of the audience, "at whose confusion he was highly delighted.

"But the joke was not always on his side. "The Princess Caroline of Reuss Ebersdorff,[11] a "clever, witty person, at that time resident at "Coburg, and very fond of the young Prince, "whom she took under her special protection, re- "solved to revenge herself for some trick he had "played her. For this purpose she took ad- "vantage of an aversion he had formed, under "the following circumstances, for frogs.

"He was always fond of natural history, "and lost no opportunity of collecting speci- "mens, showing no timidity, even as a boy, in "his pursuit and seizure of animals of all sorts. "One evening, while tea was going on in the "garden at Oeslau, Prince Albert occupied him- "self as usual in searching the hedges and path- "sides for objects of interest to him, and hit "upon a large and very pretty green frog. "Seizing it in both hands, he ran with his "treasure to the tea-table. To his astonish- "ment he was received by the ladies with a "general cry of horror; and their fright ex-

11 NOTE BY THE QUEEN.—First-cousin to his father and the Duchess of Kent, always called "Linette."

"tending to himself, he threw down the frog "in a panic, and from that time forward "conceived the most unconquerable aversion "for every animal of the kind.[12] Princess "Caroline, knowing this, took advantage of it "to retaliate on the Prince for the many little "tricks with which he loved to torment her. "Amongst other tricks he had played her, he "had one evening, during a party at the Palace, "filled the pockets of the cloak left by the "Princess in the cloak-room with soft cheese; "and helping assiduously to cloak her at the "conclusion of the evening, he was delighted at "the horror with which she threw the cloak "away and turned upon himself as the perpe-"trator of the joke. For this the Princess took "ample revenge, by collecting a basketful of "frogs at the Rosenau, and having them placed "unobserved in his bed, to the destruction of "his night's rest.

"Of the many virtues that distinguished the "Prince, two deserve especial mention; for they "were conspicuous, even in his boyhood, winning "for him the love and respect of all. Growing "with his growth, these virtues gained strength

12 NOTE BY THE QUEEN.—Particularly toads.

"with years, till they formed, as it were, part of "his very religion. One was, his eager desire "to do good and to assist others; the other, the "grateful feeling which never allowed him to "forget an act of kindness, however trifling, to "himself.

"He gave an early instance of the former "quality, when only six years of age, in the "eagerness with which he made a collection "for a poor man in Wolfsbach (a small village "close to the Rosenau), whose cottage he had "seen burnt to the ground. He never rested "till a sufficient sum had been collected to "rebuild the poor man's cottage. How many "more substantial proofs has he given of the "same virtue since he grew up! particularly in "the numerous benevolent institutions founded "by him in his native home!

"These two qualities of heart won for him "the affection of all; and to them more particu-"larly may be ascribed that peculiar charm "which fascinated all who knew our beloved "master: awakening those feelings of love, "admiration, and respect, which attended him "from the cradle to his premature grave."

PROGRAMME OF STUDIES DRAWN UP FOR HIMSELF BY THE PRINCE CONSORT WHEN IN HIS FOURTEENTH YEAR.—ROSENAU.

HOURS	MONDAY.	TUESDAY.	WEDNESDAY.	THURSDAY.	FRIDAY.	SATURDAY.
6—7	Translations from the French	Exercises in Music	Reading	Exercises in Memory	Exercises in Music.	*Correspondence.*
7—8	Repetition and Preparation in History	Preparation in Religion	Riding	Repetition and Preparation in History	Exercises in Memory	*Riding*
8—9	Modern History	Religious Instruction	Exercises in German Composition	Religious Instruction	Ancient History	Exercises in German Composition.
10—11	Ovid	Ovid	Music.	Modern History	*Exercises in Latin* Composition.	*Music.*
11—12	English	Logic	English.	*English*	*Natural History.*	English.
12—1	Mathematics	Geography	French	Cicero.	Logic.	French.
1—2			Drawing			Drawing.
6—7	French	English Exercises	French.	English Exercises.	French	Geography.
7—8	Exercises in Latin Composition	Written Translation of Sallust	Mathematics.	Mathematics.	Latin Exercises. Sallust	Correspondence

CHAPTER VI.

1832—1835.

THE ROSENAU AND REINHARDSBRUNN—EXCURSIONS IN THE THÜRINGERWALD—CONFIRMATION OF THE PRINCES.

WHILE the winter months, including perhaps those of early spring and late autumn, were generally spent either at Coburg or Gotha, in the enjoyment of the society and amusements afforded by those cities, the more genial months of the year were passed, for the most part, either at the Rosenau or at Reinhardsbrunn.

The Prince was always a great admirer of fine scenery, and early showed this taste in the excursions for which the residence at either of these places gave so much facility. "Nothing," M. Florschütz says, "could exceed the intense "enjoyment with which a fine or commanding "view inspired the young Prince;" and the time

passed at the Rosenau or at Reinhardsbrunn, delightfully situated as were these summer residences—the one at the south-west, the other at the north-east extremity of that lovely district of wood and hill, known as the "Thuringerwald"—enabled him to gratify this taste to an almost unlimited extent.

As the place of the Prince's birth, and one to which he remained through life passionately attached, though not destined often to revisit it, we must here attempt some description of the Rosenau. Distant about four miles from Coburg, it is charmingly placed on a knoll that rises abruptly from and terminates to the south, a ridge running out, their last offshoot, from a range of wooded hills which divide the lovely valley of the Itz from the broad and undulating plain through which passes the main road from Coburg to Hildburghausen, Meiningen, &c.

This ridge is cut a quarter of a mile above the house, and again half a mile higher up, at the little villages of Unter and Ober Wolfsbach, prettily situated on the right or western bank of the Itz, by openings through which country roads ascend to the open country to the west; while from the latter village it runs back in a steep ascent, first to the picturesque ruins of

Lauterbourg, and thence to the summit of the Herrn Berg, the last of the range of wooded hills above mentioned.

The eastern side of the ridge falls steeply, covered with wood, to the narrow valley through which serpentines the pretty little stream of the Itz, sometimes, as at the villages above mentioned, drawing close in below the ridge; at others, diverging in wide sweeps to the further side of the valley. To the west, the ridge slopes gently, just above the house, to a meadow shut in by thriving plantations, and with a large piece of artificial water in the centre.

The knoll on which the house stands, rises, as has been said, abruptly at the southern extremity of this ridge. It falls precipitously on the east side to the Itz, which again draws close in here beneath the house, and by a very steep descent on the other three sides, to the plain to the west and south.

The top forms a small plateau, on the southern edge of which stands the house: a solid oblong building of no architectural pretensions, with high gable-ends to the north and south. The entrance is in a round tower on the west side of the house, to which the approach ascends through a thick grove of young spruce

firs round the western side of the knoll. A broad winding staircase in the tower leads upwards to the principal rooms on the first floor, and downwards to the Marble Hall, or dining-room, to the south, which, from the sudden fall of the ground, stands at a lower level than the rest of the house.

A small terrace-garden at the north end of the house commands a lovely view of the valley of the Itz, beyond which, to the east and north, the country is broken up into a succession of wooded hills and picturesque valleys, with occasional clearings, and smiling, tidy villages standing in the middle of rich meadows and orchards; the hills gradually rising in height up to the highest points of the Thüringerwald, visible in the far distance.

Below the house the stream winds, fringed with trees, through a bright and cheerful meadow, to the village of Oeslau, half a mile lower down. Here it makes a turn, almost at right angles, to the west, and runs at the foot of a range of hills, thickly wooded, which bound the prospect to the south, and terminate in the commanding eminence on which stands the old Festung overhanging the city of Coburg some three miles lower down.

The Marble Hall, in which, as has been mentioned, the Prince was christened, opens on a small gravelled space to the south of the house, bounded by a neatly trimmed hedge of roses, and communicating at its eastern corner, by a long and irregular flight of stone steps, with the walk along the banks of the Itz below. Standing on this space in the early morning, before the sun has got upon it, or in the afternoon when he has left it, it is difficult to imagine anything more bright or enjoyable than the view before you,—looking over the meadow below the house, bordered to the left by the trees which mark the course of the stream throughout, and to the right by those which clothe a gentle slope on the top of which runs the road to Coburg; the prospect being closed by the wooded hills to the south of the Itz.[1]

Pleasant and well laid-out walks lead in all directions through the woods, round the water and meadows, and along the stream from the village of Unter Wolfsbach above, to that of Oeslau below the house, and thence round by the Schweitzerei, or dairy-farm.

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[1] NOTE BY THE QUEEN.—The peaceful beauty of the scene is, perhaps, still more striking by moonlight.

Prominent amongst the trees which grow and thrive at the Rosenau, is the Abele poplar, of which there are many very good specimens here, some of them, on the road leading to Coburg, really magnificent. This accounts at once for this tree having always been a favourite one with the Prince; for surely no man was ever endowed with a stronger feeling of love for all the recollections and associations of his youth, and of his native place. This is a feeling which perhaps no man can be without, who is possessed of the amiable and loving disposition that characterized the Prince. It showed itself repeatedly in after-life in much that he did in those places of his creation, Osborne and Balmoral. At the former place especially, the cottage architecture bears unmistakable witness to the influence which early associations exercised over him.

Some 200 yards from the house to the west, in the angle made by two roads which lead by different lines to Coburg, stands a small Wirthshaus, the favourite resort on Sundays and holidays of the Coburg citizens, who here sit at tables under the trees, without distinction of rank or class, drinking their beer or coffee; or stroll about the walks above mentioned, for

the system of exclusion is unknown here which prevails with regard to our English parks, and the walks and grounds are at all times freely thrown open to those who wish to enjoy them.

Dearly was the Rosenau loved by the Prince, the principal scene, as it was, of what he always fondly looked back to as a most happy childhood. His brother shared his love for the place, and several traces of their joint labours as boys still exist there, particularly at the keeper's house near the little inn, behind which there is a small garden still kept as they made it, and a little summer-house which, if they did not actually build, they decorated within entirely themselves. Here too is the small skittle-ground, after which the Prince formed one in after years in the garden at Buckingham Palace. It is a game for which he never quite lost his liking, and he would join in it, with all the eagerness and energy of youth, when the Queen's illness made him unwilling to go to any distance from the Palace.[2]

Reinhardsbrunn, about eight miles from

[2] NOTE BY THE QUEEN.—The little garden and summer-house were much injured by lawless bands in 1848, and with the small skittle-ground, had been entirely neglected, till the Queen had them restored in 1863.

Gotha, with its magnificent lime-trees, and fine pine-woods, situated close under the highest of the wooded hills that give a character of its own to all this district, though not so dear to the young Princes as the Rosenau, the scene of their earliest and happiest associations, is perhaps even more charmingly situated, and affords even more temptatioh to the excursions the Princes delighted in; for here the hills and valleys assume their wildest form, and a succession of beautiful and romantic glens, with their strange mixture of wood and rock, gave a wide scope to their spirit of enterprise and discovery. The brothers were never tired of exploring the inmost recesses of these interesting valleys; and in June 1829, undertook a lengthened excursion, making a ten days' pedestrian tour through the whole district.

Natural History had always great attraction for both Princes, and it was during such excursions that they collected the specimens of various sorts which they afterwards brought together, and from which the Museum at Coburg, known as the "Ernest-Albert Museum,"[1] grew up to its present dimensions. To

[1] NOTE BY THE QUEEN.—It is now (1864) removed to the Festung, where rooms have been built on purpose for it.

the end of his life the Prince continued to manifest the warmest interest in this Museum by many valuable additions which he neglected no opportunity of making to it.[4]

When he grew old enough to join in the sports of the field, the Prince often carried his gun on such expeditions.[5] But though by no means indifferent to such sports and an excellent shot, he scarcely inherited his father's love for them. In later years, indeed, he seemed to engage in them rather as a means of taking a certain amount of exercise, than from any great liking for them in themselves. The only sport which he may be said to have engaged in for itself, was that of deer-stalking, and in this, the wildness of the scenery and the interest attaching to the study, which it promoted, of the habits of the animal, added largely to the pleasure of the chase.

"The active life which the Prince thus "led in the open air," says his tutor, "strength- "ened alike the mind and the body. His "thirst for knowledge was kept alive and in-

[4] Note by the Queen.—The Queen continues these contributions to it, and watches over it with the greatest interest.

[5] Memorandum by M. Florschütz.

"dulged, while under the influence of his bodily "exercises he grew up into an active and "healthy boy."

There seems no particular notice of the years 1833 and '34, which were doubtless spent in the usual round between Coburg and Gotha. And the only letter we have to quote is the following short note of usual congratulation on the Prince's birth-day from his grandmother the Dowager Duchess of Gotha.

"*Gotha, Aug.* 24, 1834.

"Accept for the birth-day of our beloved "Albert, my most heartfelt wishes. May God "preserve this angel to us and ever keep him "in the right path."

The Princes were now in their seventeenth and sixteenth years respectively, and the elder at least had arrived at the age at which it is customary in Germany to go through the ceremony of confirmation. But the younger was, his tutor relates, "of a singularly earnest and "thoughtful nature," and as up to this time they had gone hand in hand in all their studies, it was not wished that any separation should take place between them in this, the first important step in their young lives, and it was therefore

determined that "they should make their public "profession of faith together."[6]

It will be seen in a future chapter that a similar course was pursued when the Hereditary Prince came of age, and that Prince Albert was, by a special act of the legislature, declared to be of age at the same time as his brother.

On Palm Sunday 1835, the young Princes were accordingly confirmed, and Mr. Florschütz speaks warmly of the earnestness with which Prince Albert prepared himself for the solemn ceremony, and of the deep feeling of religion with which he engaged in it.

The profession now made by the Prince he held fast through life. His was no lip-service. His faith was essentially one of the heart, a real and living faith, giving a colour to his whole life. Deeply imbued with a conviction of the great truths of Christianity, his religion went far beyond mere forms, to which, indeed, he attached no especial importance. It was not with him a thing to be taken up and ostentatiously displayed with almost Pharisaical observance, on certain days, or at certain seasons, or on certain formal occasions. It was part of *himself*. It was engrafted in

6 Memorandum by M. Florschütz.

his very nature, and directed his every-day life. In his every action, the spirit—as distinguished from the letter—the spirit and essence of *Christianity was his constant and unerring* guide.

In the Appendix will be found a somewhat abridged translation of the account printed at the time, of this event, which took place on the 11th and 12th April 1835, in the Schloss at Coburg.[1]

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[1] Appendix B. p. 397.

CHAPTER VII.

1835—1837.

VISIT TO MECKLENBURG — AND TOUR THROUGH BERLIN, DRESDEN, PRAGUE, VIENNA, ETC. — FIRST VISIT TO ENGLAND — RESIDENCE AT BRUSSELS — LETTERS OF THE PRINCE.

IMMEDIATELY after their confirmation the young Princes went to Mecklenburg to congratulate their great-grandfather the Grand Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin,[1] on the 50th anniversary of his accession to the Grand Dukedom; and after a few days spent there, they joined their father at Berlin. Their stay at that capital at this time was short, as they merely remained till they had been presented at Court, after which the Princes set out on a tour by themselves, visiting Dresden, Prague, Vienna, Pesth,

[1] The mother of the Princes was the daughter of Duke Augustus of Saxe-Gotha, by his first marriage to a daughter of this Grand Duke of Mecklenburg.

and Ofen, and returning to Coburg towards the end of May. On the 11th of that month, whilst they were still at Berlin with their father, the Duchess of Gotha writes to congratulate the Duke on the success which the young Princes had everywhere met with. "I was "sure beforehand," she says, "that you would "be received with the accustomed friendship "at Berlin. It is really most satisfactory that "our dear children bore every thing so well, "and have everywhere made themselves so "beloved by their nice manners. May God "continue to protect them. I would, however, "entreat you not to tire them too much, par- "ticularly by too much travelling at night."[2]

Again, on the 23rd of the month, the Duchess speaks of the arrival of the young Princes in Vienna; of their having visited their uncle, Count Mensdorff, and their aunt at Prague,[3] and with true grand-motherly solicitude, repeats the expression of her anxiety, that they should not be over-fatigued.

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[2] A caution, the Queen remarks in a note, very necessary, but which was unheeded.

[3] Count Mensdorff had been transferred, at this time, from the command of the fortress of Mayence to that of the troops at Prague.

At every Court which they visited they seem to have been received with the greatest kindness, and to have created the most favourable impression.

On the 27th June, after the return of the Duke to Coburg, where the Princes had already been settled some time, the Duchess writes:—
"Accept my best thanks for your dear letter of "the 24th, announcing your safe arrival at the "lovely Rosenau. Thank God that you and "the dear children arrived quite well after your "great fatigues; but I must scold you a little "for having made your journey back such a "fatiguing one."

It would be interesting to read the Prince's own account of their tour, and of the impression made upon him by all he saw; and he doubtless wrote fully to his parents and his grandmother during his travels; but the following short letter to his stepmother, the new Duchess of Coburg, is the only letter of his written at this time that is at present forthcoming:—

"*Berlin, May* 9, 1835.

"DEAR MAMA,—I hope you will excuse my "long silence, for I can assure you that I have "never been able to find a moment's leisure;

"even the time for this letter is, as it were, "snatched from other things, for we are already "expected at a review.

"I can assure you, dear Mama, that we are "quite well, and that we have enjoyed ourselves "in Mecklenburg, as well as in Berlin. It "requires, however, a giant's strength to bear "all the fatigue we have had to undergo. "Visits, parades, rides, déjeûners, dinners, "suppers, balls, and concerts follow each other "in rapid succession, and we have not been "allowed to miss any of the festivities."

At the beginning of July the young Princes went to Gotha for their grandmother's birthday, and she writes on the 12th, when they had again left her, to express the pleasure it had given her to have "the dear children with her "on her birth-day." After describing the manner in which it had been kept, she adds—"I would "willingly have kept them longer with me, but "good Florschütz said it was not good that "their studies should be longer interrupted, "particularly as they were to have a new "master to-morrow. I submitted, and must "again assure you how very much I was "pleased with the dear young people. May "God protect them!"

Early in 1836 we find the Prince corresponding from Gotha, where the brothers were again residing, with Dr. Seebode, Director of the Gymnasium (High School) at Coburg; and his letters give us a pleasing insight into the literary nature of his pursuits, and the philosophical and inquiring turn of his mind, even at this early period of his life, for he was not yet seventeen years old. On the 5th February he writes:[4]

"VEREHRTESTER HERR CONSISTORIALRATH,

"—In spite of all the distractions (*Zerstreu-* "*ungen*) of our life here at Gotha, in spite of "innumerable visits, in spite of the howling of "the wind and storm, in spite of the noise of "the guard under our windows,—I have at "length completed the framework (*Disposition*) "of my Essay on the Mode of Thought of the "Germans (*die Anschauungsweise der Deut-* "*schen*); and I send it with this for your "perusal, begging you not to judge too severely "the many faults which your critical eye will "doubtless discover in it.

"You have my work without head or tail "(*ohne Kopf und Schwanz*). I have sketched

[4] See original of this and following letters in Appendix C. pp. 401 *et seqq.*

"no form (*kein Skelett entworfen*) of introduc-
"tion or conclusion, thinking it unnecessary, for
"my desire is to trace through the course of
"History the progress of German civilization
"(*Culturgang der Deutschen*) down to our own
"times, making use, in its general outlines (*in
"allgemeinen Umrissen*) of the division which
"the treatment of the subject itself commands.

"The conclusion will contain a retrospect
"of the shortcomings of our time, with an
"appeal to every one to correct those short-
"comings in his own case (*jene Mängel zuerst
"aus seinem eignen Benehmen zu verbannen*),
"and thus to set a good example to others.

"If this idea should not please you, pray
"write and tell me so, and I will then endea-
"vour to find another conclusion."

"*Gotha, 5th February* 1836."

Again, on the 12th March, he writes:—

"We have heard with great regret of the
"accident you have met with. I would not
"believe it at first, but your letter confirms it.
"I hope you may very soon be well again.

"The work on the History of German
"Literature gets on but slowly, owing to our
"Gotha engagements (*Gothaischen Verhalt-*

"*nissen*). Accept again my heartfelt thanks "for the correction of my last essay. As I go "on with it, I will change and modify the points "on which you raise some doubts.

"The time for our departure to Brussels "draws certainly nearer, yet is still so far off "that we shall, under any circumstances, first "go once more to Coburg, probably towards "Easter. We shall then certainly call at your "house, and hope to find you perfectly "recovered."

"*Gotha, March* 12, 1836."

Another letter to the same gentleman, written from Brussels towards the end of the year, relates to the same subject. It is therefore inserted here, though somewhat out of its proper place. On the 18th December the Prince writes:

"Accept my most heartfelt thanks, as well "for your kind letter as for the beautiful "present that accompanied it. You could not "have given me anything that would have "pleased me more than this great work. I "intend immediately to study and to follow the "thoughts of the great Klopstock into their "depths (*dem grossen Klopstock in seinen Tiefen*

"*nachzudenken*), though in this, for the most "part, I do not succeed.

"I often think back with the greatest "pleasure of the interesting hours spent with "you at Coburg; with what pleasure my ear "took in your praises of our German masters.

"Here, where one is only surrounded by "foreign literature, lives only in foreign "literature, one learns to appreciate our own "at its real value. But it is painful to see the "mean idea which the French and Belgians, "and even the English, have of our German "literature. It consoles one, however, to find "that this undervaluing proceeds from an utter "incapacity (*völligen Unfähigkeit*) to under-"stand our German works. To give you a "slight idea of this incapacity, I add to this "letter a French translation of Goethe's *Faust*, "which, in the most literal sense of the word, "makes one's hair stand on end (*die Haare zu* "*Berge steigen*). Certainly from such produc-"tions foreigners cannot understand the "profound genius of our literature, and they "explain why so much in it appears to them "weak and ridiculous.

"You will not think me ungrateful for "having been so long in answering your kind

"letter. In excuse I may tell you that but "little time is given us to ourselves, and that an "extensive correspondence consumes the few "moments that we are at liberty. And though "we really make the best use of the time we "have, there are also many interruptions "inseparably connected with a Court.

"Our residence at Brussels will last till "Easter. Where we shall then go in search of "more wisdom, we do not yet know. First to "Coburg, to which affection draws us, then "probably to some German university. To "which? This is still undecided.

"In the hope of soon seeing you again well "and happy at home,

"I remain

"Your grateful

"ALBERT."

"*Brussels, December* 18, 1836."

The Princes not only paid the visit to Coburg to which the Prince looked forward; but before settling at Brussels they also visited England with their father, travelling by steam-boat down the Rhine to Rotterdam, and crossing thence direct to London. The following letter describes this first part of their journey:—

"*Rotterdam, May* 17, 1836.

"DEAR MAMA,—Let me give you some "account of our journey here. I am still writ-"ing from Rotterdam, as we arrived after the "departure of the steamer, and must wait for "the next, which is to start this afternoon.

"Our journey to Mayence, travelling day "and night, was very cold and dusty, but we "did it in twenty-two hours. We slept at "Mayence, and started the following morning "by the boat for Coblentz, Papa going the "same evening by himself to Rüdesheim. "On board the steamer we made the very "agreeable acquaintance of the two Princes of "Isenburg, and we dined with them at the "hotel. Major Josa, who was very glad to see "us again, and Major Hübner, who built Ehren-"breitstein, were also at dinner. Major Hübner "had been ordered by the General commanding "here to show us the fortifications. We went "over Ehrenbreitstein the same afternoon, and "the next morning visited Forts Alexander and "Franz, which we admired very much.

"In the afternoon we went on board the "steamer, where we met dear papa, and pro-"ceeded with him to Cologne. Here we heard "that it was impossible for us to be in London

"on Saturday, or even to leave Rotterdam be-"fore Tuesday next, for which we have to thank "some Dutch speculators, whose object it is to "detain travellers as long as they can.

"We arrived here after two days more on "board the steamer, during which time I tried "to practise my English in conversation with "some Englishmen whom we met. The day "before yesterday we made a little excursion to "the Hague and Scheveningen. We travelled "incognito, which succeeded perfectly, till the "chamberlain of the Princess of Orange saluting "us with a malicious smile, unmasked us.

"Ernest and myself are quite well, and only "afraid of sea-sickness. The only thing that "spoils our pleasure is the absence of good "Mr. Florschütz.

From London he again writes on the 1st of June, and as it may be interesting to those who understand German to read his first impressions of England in his own words, the original of the letter is added in the Appendix.[5]

"DEAR MAMA,—Accept mine and Ernest's "heartfelt thanks for your dear, kind letter. I

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[5] See Appendix C. p. 403. In the Appendix will also be found the original of many of the Prince's letters.

"would have answered you sooner if I had not "been suffering for some days from a bilious "fever. The climate of this country, the different "way of living, and the late hours, do not agree "with me. I am now, however, fairly upon "my legs again.

"My first appearance was at a levee of the "King's, which was long and fatiguing, but "very interesting. The same evening we dined "at Court, and at night there was a beauti-"ful concert, at which we had to stand till two "o'clock. The next day, the King's birth-day "was kept. We went in the middle of the "day to a Drawing-room at St. James's Palace, "at which about 3,800 people passed before the "King and Queen and the other high digni-"taries, to offer their congratulations. There "was again a great dinner in the evening, and "then a concert which lasted till one o'clock. "You can well imagine that I had many hard "battles to fight against sleepiness during these "late entertainments.

"The day before yesterday, Monday, our "Aunt gave a brilliant ball here at Kensington "Palace, at which the gentlemen appeared in "uniform, and the ladies in so-called fancy "dresses. We remained till four o'clock. Duke

"William of Brunswick, the Prince of Orange "and his two sons, and the Duke of Wellington, "were the only guests that you will care to "hear about.

"Yesterday we spent with the Duke of "Northumberland at Sion, and now we are "going to Claremont. From this account you "will see how constantly engaged we are, and 'that we must make the most of our time to "see at least some of the sights in London. "Dear Aunt is very kind to us, and does every- "thing she can to please us; and our cousin "also is very amiable. We have not a great "deal of room in our apartment, but are never- "theless very comfortably lodged.

"I hope to give you more full accounts "from Brussels, dear Mama. . . ."

From his earliest years the Prince had to struggle constantly of an evening against the feeling of sleepiness of which he complains in the above letter. This propensity has been already noticed in a memorandum by M. Florschütz, given in a former chapter. Nor did the Prince, manfully as he strove against it, ever entirely conquer it. But independently of this feeling, he never took kindly to great dinners,

balls, or the common evening amusements of the fashionable world; and went through them rather as a duty which his position imposed upon him, than as a source of pleasure or enjoyment to himself.[6] Indeed on such occasions he loved to get hold of some man eminent as a statesman or man of science, and to pass the hours he was thus compelled to give to the world, in political or instructive conversation.[7]

In a letter dated Gotha, 31st May 1836, the Dowager Duchess speaks of having received a letter from the Duke of Coburg from Kensington, and of her anxiety on account of the sea voyage, as well as of the fatigues and late hours to which the young Princes were exposed.

During their stay in England the Duke and his sons were lodged at Kensington, and it was on this occasion that the Queen saw the Prince

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[6] NOTE BY THE QUEEN.—Yet nothing, at the same time, could exceed the kind attention he paid to every one—frequently standing the whole evening that no one might be neglected.

[7] *See in chapter IX. p. 196, the remark of the Grand* Duke of Tuscany on seeing the Prince talking to the Marquis Capponi during a ball at Florence,—"Voilà un "prince dont nous pouvons être fiers. La belle danseuse "l'attend—le savant l'occupe."

for the first time. They were both now seventeen years old—the Queen completing her seventeenth year during the visit—the Prince three months later.

On leaving England they stayed a short time at Paris, leaving it shortly before the attempt of Fieschi against the life of Louis Philippe. From Paris they went to Brussels, where their father left them under the care of Baron Wiechmann, a retired officer of the English German Legion. They resided here for the next ten months, preparing by a course of diligent study, in which modern languages and history held a prominent place, for their removal in the course of the following year to the University of Bonn.

Amongst those by whose society and instruction the young Princes chiefly profited during their residence at Brussels, was M. Quetelet, to whom many years later, when presiding over the International Statistical Congress, of which M. Quetelet was a member as deputy from Belgium, the Prince paid a graceful compliment, as one to whom he himself principally owed whatever information he possessed on such subjects.

Both Princes profited greatly by the time

thus spent in Brussels, but the absence it necessarily entailed from their own country was a source of much lamentation to their grandmother, the Duchess Dowager of Gotha. In writing to the Duke on the 7th July, to congratulate him on his safe return to Coburg, while she "thanks God that you have returned "in good health and have left the dear children "well"—"it makes me sad," she adds, "to think "that you are come back without them, and I "cannot reconcile myself to this long separation "from them. Thank God that you were able "to assure me you had left them well."

The following letters from Prince Albert to his father and stepmother, written during their residence at Brussels, give some insight into their life there, and will speak for themselves:—

TO THE DUCHESS OF COBURG, ETC.[8]

"*Brussels, June 30, 1836.*

"DEAR MAMA,—I take advantage of the "opportunity of Papa's return to Coburg to "write to you at last once more. I would "have written to you before this from Paris if I "had had time. We all thought the Hôtel

[8] See Appendix C. p. 404, for original of th

"des Princes,[9] where we lived, a most horrible "place—such a noise in the street that you could "not hear your own voice. Ernest Würtem-"berg had been in the same house a short "time before.

"We not only saw all the sights to be seen "in Paris itself, during our stay there, but also "made several very pleasant excursions in the "neighbourhood. We visited St. Cloud, Meu-"don, Montmorency, Neuilly, Versailles, Tria-"non, &c., and were much struck by the beauty "of the scenery on all sides. We were received "at Court with the greatest kindness and civility, "and we must all join to the fullest extent, in "the great praise which every one bestows on "the Royal Family.

"After all our fatigues and amusements we "are now settled in our new home, and are really "glad to be able to lead a quiet and regular "mode of life. We live in a small but very "pretty house, with a little garden in front, and "though in the middle of a large town, we are "perfectly shut out from the noise of the streets.

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9 It was in the Rue Richelieu, the most noisy thoroughfare in Paris, and happily for those who might have been doomed to pass a night in it, no longer exists as an hotel.

"The masters selected for us are said to be "excellent, so that everything is favourable to "our studies, and I trust there will be no lack "of application on our part.

"Uncle Leopold is not expected before the "15th, and by the time he arrives we shall "have settled to our daily routine. We have "already arranged everything, and mean to "devote the next few days to paying the "necessary visits before settling, next week, to "our new mode of life.

"When this letter reaches you, you will also "be about to commence a new mode of life, for "I hear that your journey to the sea-side is "fixed for the 10th. I hope this trip will "answer to you in every way. The journey "to England has given me such a disgust "for the sea that I do not like even to think "of it."

TO THE DUKE OF COBURG.

"*Brussels, July* 1836.

"DEAR PAPA,—Accept the warmest thanks "from us both, for your dear letter, which we "received yesterday evening. . . . . The

"eagerness shown at Coburg for the building "of the theatre is really delightful, and proves "that the spirit of improvement is there, and "only requires encouragement to develope "itself. We mean to make a strong appeal to "Aunt Kent to contribute somewhat to this "national work. We have been for some time "in active correspondence with her. . . . . "Uncle Leopold arrived at Laeken last night. "We have not yet seen him. And now good-"by, dear Papa. Always keep the same love "for your devoted Son

"ALBERT."

TO THE DUKE OF COBURG.[10]

"*Brussels, August* 15, 1836.

"DEAR PAPA,— . . . . . We accom-"panied uncle to the camp of Beverlow, which "is on a large plain, on which, on a circumfe-"rence of ten leagues, not a house is to be seen. "The camp itself is about five miles round, and "is well built. The barracks and stables are "much better arranged than is usually the case.

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[10] See Appendix C. p. 406.

"We lived in a very nice little hut, close to the "Royal one, over which the Belgian and Saxon "flags were hoisted.

"There was a different field-day every day, "and two of them were particularly interesting. "The last of these two was really beautiful, "and, in the opinion of experienced officers, "gave a perfect idea of real war. The vic-"torious army was commanded by Generals "Goetals, Magnan, and Marneff; the losing "army under Generals d'Olivier and De Lime; "and when the latter were at a loss how to "extricate themselves from a difficult position, "uncle himself conducted the retreat.

"After the fatigue of the manœuvres the "soldiers amused themselves by playing at "various games, at which we were present, "such as running races, climbing high poles, "jumping in sacks, fencing and wrestling, &c., "in all of which they showed great dex-"terity. Upon the whole the troops showed "to so much advantage that every one was "astonished. Towards evening there was some-"times excellent music, the bands of all the "regiments being assembled, in which 160 "musicians played together."

To the Duke of Coburg.

"*Ostend, Sept.* 1, 1836.

"Dear Papa,—Thank you a thousand times "for your dear letter, and for the pretty ring "which I received in your name from the "'Rath' when I awoke on the 26th. I have "not taken it off my finger since I got it, and "it shall always remain there and remind me of "you when I am not with you.

"How sorry I was to spend this happy day "without you, and to be so far from you!"

In the same letter the Prince speaks of having been out shooting with his brother, and of their having killed some seagulls.

To the Duke of Coburg.

"*Brussels, Oct.* 17, 1836.

"Dear Papa,— . . . . . Yesterday "(Sunday) we made an excursion to Waterloo, "and went on foot all over the field of battle. "Colonel von Wiechmann, who had been at "the battle, was our cicerone. We found, to "our great indignation, that the French, who "marched over the field on their way to the "siege of Antwerp, had knocked off the iron "cross of the monument. . . . ."

To the Duke of Coburg.

"*Brussels, Nov.* 29, 1836.

"Dear Papa,—We should be so glad to "accept your invitation to go to Coburg for a "few days, and to spend Christmas there. But "if we are to profit by our stay here, I am "afraid we must deny ourselves that pleasure. "Such an expedition would require five or six "weeks, and our course of study would be quite "disturbed by such an interruption. We told "dear uncle the purport of your letter, and he "said he would write to you on the subject."

We do not often find a young man of eighteen objecting to a holiday, because it would interrupt his studies!

CHAPTER VIII.

April 1837 to close of 1838.

RESIDENCE AT BONN — DEATH OF WILLIAM IV. — TOUR THROUGH SWITZERLAND AND NORTH OF ITALY — LETTERS FROM THE PRINCE.

THE young Princes were now to enter upon their academical career. In April 1837, they left Brussels for Bonn, at which university, with the exception of the usual vacations, they remained for the next year and a half. A small detached house had been taken for them, not far from the Cathedral and overlooking the alley that leads up to the Kreutzberg; and here they resided with their tutor, M. Florschütz, who bears witness to the diligence and steadiness with which they applied themselves to their studies. Of our Prince more particularly, he says that "he maintained the early "promise of his youth by the eagerness with

"which he applied himself to his work, and by "the rapid progress which he made, especially "in the natural sciences, in political economy, "and in philosophy." "Music also," he adds, "of which he was passionately fond, was not "neglected, and he had already shown con- "siderable talent as a composer." [1]

Their principal instructors at the university were Messrs. Bethman-Holweg, Schlegel, Fichte, Löbell, Kaufmann, Perthès,[2] d'Alten, &c., of most of whom the Prince retained throughout life the most affectionate recollection.

Amongst the students who were at Bonn at this time were the present reigning Duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, Prince William of Löwenstein-Werthheim, and Count Erbach, a relation of Prince Leiningen's. With these, from their connection with them, the Princes naturally lived

[1] The Prince also excelled in manly exercises, and at a great fencing-match, in which there were from twenty-five to thirty competitors, carried off the first prize, as recorded by an English student at the university, now holding a Government situation in Dublin, and who himself obtained the second prize.

[2] See extract of letter from M. Perthès on the occasion of the Prince's marriage, quoted from Memoirs by his son, chap. XIII. p. 295.

on terms of the greatest intimacy, and, indeed, with their fellow-students generally they seem always to have been on the most cordial and friendly footing. With none, however, did Prince Albert form so close and intimate a friendship as with Prince William of Löwenstein, who has lately sent the Queen an account, which will be found at the end of this chapter, of his recollections of their college life. He has also sent several letters, written to him by the Prince at various times after they left the university, which will be found inserted in their place, and which, particularly those written about the time of the marriage, will be read with much interest.

Since the visit of the Princes to England in the preceding year the idea had become very general that a marriage was in contemplation between Prince Albert and the Princess Victoria; and during their late residence in Brussels reports to that effect had become still more prevalent, though most prematurely, as nothing was then settled.[3] Prince Albert's letters to his father at this time are chiefly interesting from their allusion to England and the young Queen. The first is dated from

[3] *Memorandum by the Queen.*

Bonn, only a few days before the death, on the 20th June 1837, of William IV., when Queen Victoria, who had only just completed her eighteenth year, ascended the throne. In that letter, after mentioning a visit to Cologne, which he had made a few days previously with his brother and the hereditary Grand Duke of Weimar, and alluding to two pictures* which they had given a commission to have bought at a sale of old pictures which was to be held there, he goes on :—

"A few days ago I received a letter from "Aunt Kent, enclosing one from our cousin. "She told me I was to communicate its con- "tents to you, so I send it on with a translation "of the English. The day before yesterday "I received a second and still kinder letter "from my cousin, in which she thanks me for "my good wishes on her birth-day. You may "easily imagine that both these letters gave me "the greatest pleasure."

On the 4th July, after dwelling on the beauty of the Ahrthal, to which he and his brother had just made an *excursion*, and telling his father of their attendance at a swimming-

* One was a sketch by Albert Durer—the other a negro's head by Vandyck.

school on the Rhine close to Bonn, he adds :—
"The death of the King of England has every-
"where caused the greatest sensation. From
"what uncle Leopold, as well as aunt, writes to
"us, the new reign has begun most success-
"fully. Cousin Victoria is said to have shown
"astonishing self-possession. She undertakes
"a heavy responsibility, especially at the present
"moment, when parties are so excited, and all
"rest their hopes on her. Poor aunt has again
"been violently attacked in the newspapers,
"but she has also found strenuous supporters."

On first hearing of the King's death, the Prince had already written the following beautiful and characteristic letter to the young Queen. It is the first of his which we have, written in English,[5] and allowing for a somewhat foreign turn and formality of expression, it shows what proficiency he had already made in a language which, from the correctness with which he both spoke and wrote it, he soon made his own. "How much," says one who had deeply studied his character, "of the "Prince's great nature is visible in it. Though

[5] All the other letters which have been quoted from the Prince to his parents and grandmother, and from them to him, are translated from the German.

"addressed to a young and powerful Queen, "there is not a word of flattery in it. His first "thought is of the great responsibility of the "position, the happiness of the millions that "was at stake. Then comes the anxious hope "that the reign may be glorious." (Did he feel a presentiment at the time how much he would help to make it so?) "And then how "gracefully and naturally the tender regard of "an affectionate relation comes in at the last." But let us quote it:—

"*Bonn, 26th June* 1837.

"My dearest Cousin,—I must write you a "few lines to present you my sincerest felici-"tations on that great change which has taken "place in your life.

"Now you are Queen of the mightiest land "of Europe, in your hand lies the happiness "of millions. May Heaven assist you and "strengthen you with its strength in that high "but difficult task.

"I hope that your reign may be long, "happy, and glorious, and that your efforts may "be rewarded by the thankfulness and love of "your subjects.

"May I pray you to think likewise some-"times of your cousins in Bonn, and to con-

school on the Rhine close to Bonn, he adds:—
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"I hope that your reign may be long, "happy, and glorious, and that your efforts may "be rewarded by the thankfulness and love of "your subjects.

"May I pray you to think likewise some-"times of your cousins in Bonn, and to con-

"tinue to them that kindness you favoured "them with till now. Be assured that our "minds are always with you.

"I will not be indiscreet and abuse your "time. Believe me always, your Majesty's "most obedient and faithful servant,

"ALBERT."

"Uncle Leopold," the Prince writes to his father on the 30th July 1837,[6] "has written to "me a great deal about England and all that is "going on there. United as all parties are in "high praise of the young Queen, the more do "they seem to manœuvre and intrigue with "and against each other. On every side there "is nothing but a network of cabals and "intrigues, and parties are arrayed against "each other in the most inexplicable manner. ". . . . Uncle Leopold advises us to make a "journey to the South of Germany and Switzer-"land, or even to the North of Italy. Sorry as "I shall be to lose the opportunity of seeing "our dear uncle again soon, I feel that his "opinion is right, and I am sure you will also "agree in thinking his reasons imperative and "conclusive."

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6 See Appendix C. p. 406.

The object of the King of the Belgians in advising this journey, seems to have been to draw attention from the young Princes; as, during their residence at Brussels, a report had been very generally spread (as already mentioned,) of a marriage being in contemplation between Prince Albert and the young Queen.

The brothers accordingly employed the vacation in making a tour through Switzerland and the North of Italy. Leaving Bonn on the 28th of August, and sleeping on their way at Andernach, Coblentz, Mannheim, Baden-Baden, and Kenzingen, they arrived on the 3rd of September at Basel. The first days of their tour had been attended by almost constant rain, in spite of which they visited everything best worth seeing at Baden, Strasburg, and other places through which their route lay. Ascending the Jura by the Münsterthal, they reached Moutiers, where they slept, in the evening of the 4th, and after halting the next day at Biel, in order to visit the "Peters Insel" celebrated by Rousseau, they arrived on the 6th at Elfenau, half an hour's drive from Berne. Here they remained three days on a visit to their aunt, the Grand Duchess Anne, widow of the Grand Duke Constantine.

The weather had cleared up the day before they arrived at Elfenau, and though very cold at the early hour at which they generally set out on their day's journey, the young travellers thoroughly enjoyed their tour and the fine scenery through which it led them. This is so well known and has been so often described, that it is not necessary to do much more than record the names of the places they visited. Leaving Elfenau on the 9th, they slept that night at Brienz, from whence next morning their pedestrian tour began. Passing by the Brünig-Pass and Sarnen, to Alpnach, where they slept on the 10th, on the 11th they crossed the lake of the four cantons to Lucerne. Here they only remained long enough to see what was best worth seeing in the town, and left again at eleven o'clock in a boat for Küssnacht, whence they ascended the Rigi on foot, arriving, in company with the family of Prince Fürstenberg, with whom they had fallen in at Küssnacht, at six in the evening.

The next morning we find them at break of day admiring the glorious sunrise from the top of the Rigi; descending thence to Goldau, they there took a carriage to Brunnen, and thence a boat to Flüelen, where they passed the night.

On the 13th they drove by the Gothardsstrasse, by Altdorf and Amsteg, the Devil's Bridge, &c. to Andermatt, where they slept. On the 14th they ascended the valley of the Reuss to Hospental and Realp, and crossed the Furka in a storm of wind and snow, descending to the Glacier of the Rhone, where they rested for the night in a miserable house. Prince Albert alone refused this day to make use of the ponies that accompanied them. His wish had been to make a pedestrian tour, and such he was determined it should be.

The next morning they set out at eight o'clock to cross the dangerous Mayenwand, a steep ascent made more difficult by the snow that lay as far as they could see to a depth of two and a half feet. Thick mist obscured the fearful abyss below them, and the Grimsel Hospice, which they reached at ten o'clock, was a welcome sight. Descending thence by Handeckfall they slept that night at Gutlau; the next at Meyringen; the 17th, after visiting the fall of the Reichenbach, at the Rosenlaui Glacier; and on the 18th, after a very fatiguing day, they reached the top of the Faulhorn. A glorious sunset rewarded their toil, and the next morning at five o'clock they were enjoying an equally

glorious sunrise. Continuing their route they slept on the 19th at Grindelwald. On the 20th they crossed the Wengern Alp to Lauterbrunn; whence, passing by Interlaken and Thun, where they slept on the 21st, they again arrived at Elfenau, to pay a second visit to their aunt, early on the morning of the 22nd. Here they remained for the day; but though the next day, the 23rd, was the Grand Duchess's birthday, they left again at nine in the morning for Freyburg.

On the 25th, having slept the preceding night at Lausanne, they took the steam-boat at Ouchy, and reached Geneva in the evening, after a passage of three and a half hours. The 26th was given up to seeing what was to be seen at Geneva and in the neighbourhood, ending with the theatre at night. On the 28th they arrived at Chamouny, and on the 29th, accompanied by three guides, of whom Balmat the younger, son of the first man who had ascended Mont Blanc, was one, they set out for the "Jardin," taking mules as far as Montanvert; the rest of the way, by the Mer de Glace, &c. was necessarily performed on foot. The Jardin was reached at half-past one, and after half an hour to rest and enjoy the view of the peak of Mont Blanc, hanging

right over them, they re-descended and got back to Chamouny at seven o'clock. On the 30th they ascended the Col de Balme, sleeping that night at Martigny, and on the 1st they came by St. Maurice, Bex, &c to Vernex, where they were received for the third time by their aunt the Grand Duchess Anne. In the forenoon of the 2nd they made an excursion to Vevay, &c. returning to Vernex; which, however, they left at ten in the evening, in order to extend their tour into Italy. But we need not follow them further step by step. Perhaps we have already been too minute in the enumeration of the places visited by them in Switzerland. But while these lines are being written, Prince Arthur is following[7] nearly the exact route taken by his father, twenty-seven years before; and it is interesting to think of him visiting the same scenes, sleeping at the same resting-places, and eagerly searching the visitors' books for some record of that earlier tour.

But except the unchangeable features of the scenery, little remains the same as it was in those days. The facilities of modern travel, and the consequent overwhelming flood of annual tourists, have caused hotels and villages to

[7] September 1865.

spring up where there was formerly little better than a hut to repose in; and only in one place did Prince Arthur find an inn the same as it had been in his father's time. Only at one place, too, did he find the inn books preserved so far back as 1837, and his father's name recorded amongst the visitors.

Having crossed by the Simplon into Italy, the young travellers visited the Italian lakes, Milan, &c., and arrived at Venice on the 12th October, whence Prince Albert thus writes to his father:—

"What thanks I owe you, dear Papa, for "having allowed us to make such a beautiful "tour! I am still quite intoxicated by all I "have seen in so short a time. The reports "of Herr Rath (Florschütz) will have told you "how we have been able to explore every part "of Switzerland, and, favoured as we were by "the weather, we could enjoy the beauties of "the country to the fullest degree. . . . . "Milan, and still more, heavenly Venice, con-"tain treasures of art that astonish me."

The Queen, alluding to this tour in 1864, relates that the Prince sent her a small book containing views of all the places above

enumerated except two. From one of these, the top of the Rigi, he sent her a dried "Rose "des Alpes;" and from the other, Voltaire's house at Ferney, which he visited from Geneva, a scrap of Voltaire's handwriting, which he obtained from his old servant.

"The whole of these," the Queen adds, "were placed in a small album, with the dates "at which each place was visited, in the Prince's "handwriting; and this album the Queen now "considers one of her greatest treasures, and "never goes anywhere without it. Nothing "had at this time passed between the Queen "and the Prince; but this gift shows that the "latter, in the midst of his travels, often thought "of his young cousin."[8]

Only two days were at this time given to Venice. The vacation was drawing to a close, and it was necessary to think of their return journey, so as to allow of a stay of some days on their way back, at their native Rosenau. Accordingly, at ten o'clock on the night of the 14th, the Princes left Venice, and, travelling night and day through the Tyrol, arrived at Innsprück at four o'clock on the afternoon of the 16th. Here they only remained long enough

[8] Memorandum by the Queen.

to see what was best worth seeing, and went on without stopping to Munich, where they arrived at two o'clock on the 17th.

After one day's rest and sight-seeing at Munich, they left again in the afternoon of the 18th, and arrived at the Rosenau on the 20th.

The above enumeration of the places visited by the Princes during this autumn tour, is taken from a diary kept at the time by Herr Florschütz, by whom they were accompanied. M. Florschütz has not, unfortunately (at least not in this diary), recorded any particular anecdotes of the tour, with the exception of their having been made prisoners at the top of Strasburg Cathedral by the slamming, in the wind, of the tower door, and being only released by the opportune arrival of other visitors.

The Princes remained for some days at the Rosenau, leaving it again on the 3rd of November, on their return to the University. On the way they paid a visit to their grandmother at Gotha, and the Duchess thus mentions their visit in a letter to the Duke:—

"*Gotha, Nov.* 4, 1837.

"The visit of the dear children has given "me the greatest pleasure, though it was so "short; for they only arrived yesterday at half-

"past ten o'clock, and at a quarter to eight this "morning they again left me. The whole visit "seems like a dream, though a very happy one, "for they were both so nice and good. How "tall and handsome Albert is grown, and dear "Ernest also looks well and amiable. They were "very grateful to you for the permission to "make this beautiful tour, though a little uneasy "at having been forced to leave you unwell. "To-morrow they hope to be at Bonn. It is, "no doubt, good for *them* to devote so much "time to their studies, but it is very bad for "*us* to see so little of them."

Returned to Bonn they resumed their studies with a diligence by no means impaired by their late pleasant excursion. The following letters from the Prince will give some insight into their life, and also refer to an event that created much sensation at the time; the arrest, namely, of the Archbishop of Cologne in consequence of his opposition to the Government:[9]—

"*Bonn, Nov.* 12, 1837.

"DEAR PAPA,—The last term really ended "before we had time to collect our thoughts "about it.

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9 See Appendix C. pp. 407 *et seqq.*, for original of this and the next letters from Bonn.

"We have already plunged into the midst "of the new one.

"This winter will be one of very hard work "for us, for we are overwhelmed with lectures, "papers, exercises, &c. &c.

"The chief subjects of our studies at pre- "sent are Roman law, Public law and political "economy (*Staatswirthschaftslehre*), and the "principles of finance. We also attend two "courses of historical lectures by Löbell and "A. W. von Schlegel, and a philosophical "lecture (Anthropology and Philosophy) by "Fichte. At the same time we shall not fail "to give attention to the study of modern "languages."

TO THE DOWAGER DUCHESS OF SAXE-GOTHA.

"*Bonn, Nov.* 19, 1837.

"The day before yesterday I received a "letter from uncle Leopold, expressing a wish "that we should visit him at Brussels during "Christmas week, when there will be no "lectures. You may easily imagine, dear "Grandmama, how we look forward to this "short visit. I am the more glad of it, because "we shall then have an opportunity of learning "more distinctly what Uncle thinks of the

"coming separation, next spring, of our hitherto "united lives, and also of giving him, at the "same time, our own views of it.

"That moment is, in its saddest form (*in* "*seiner trüben Gestalt*), ever before me. We "would, therefore, as long as time allows us, "do all we can to soften its pain and to gild "the pill."

TO THE DUKE OF COBURG.

"*Bonn, Nov* 24, 1837.

"DEAR PAPA,—. . . The subject which "engrosses every one here and in this neigh-"bourhood, at this moment, is the arrest of the "Archbishop of Cologne. The Catholic party "is furious, and vows death and destruction to "all Prussians and Protestants. Yesterday, "being St. Clement's day, an insurrection was "apprehended both at Aix-la-Chapelle and "Cologne; but the fear of the troops being "called out seems to have prevented it, and "everything remained quiet.

"You no doubt know how the Archbishop "has behaved towards the University, with "reference to the doctrines of Hermes; that "he has forbidden the professors to lecture— "that he has broken up the seminary here—

"and that he has declared open war against "the Prussian Government. Upon this the "King sent his Minister, Rochow, to Cologne, "to treat with the Archbishop, who, however, "refused to receive him, nor would he allow "any professor or clergyman to defend his prin-"ciples before him.

"Latterly the Archbishop has prohibited "marriages between Protestants and Catholics, "unless it were agreed that the children should "all be Catholics.

"When the King summoned him to resign "his office, he replied that the King had no "authority in the affairs of the church.

"The result was, that the Archbishop was "secretly arrested and carried off by night.

"A rich Catholic, much respected here, "said, 'The Government *must* act with us, for "'no Government can go against us. Things "'must go as far as they have done in Belgium. "'Let the Prussians have a care, lest they be "'driven out of the country with flails.'"

On the 22nd December the Prince writes to his father that he had been prevented from writing by the necessity of working hard at their studies on the approach of Christmas,

which he and his brother were to have spent with their uncle, King Leopold, at Brussels. Their doing so, however, was prevented by an accident by which the Prince hurt his knee, and was laid up for several days.[10]

The Dowager Duchess, writing from Gotha on the 17th December, says:—

"How distressed I am to hear that our "beloved Albert has hurt his knee and suffers "a good deal of pain, and that he cannot walk, "as dear Ernest writes to me. It is no joke "to hurt the knee. How little do young "people take care of themselves, and how much "anxiety and care do they not occasion! But "as the careful Florschütz has not written to "me about it, I hope it is not serious."

On the 26th of December the Prince thus writes to his grandmother:[11]—

"*Bonn, Dec. 26, 1837.*

"DEAR GRANDMAMA—A thousand thousand "thanks for the beautiful Christmas present "which M. Florschütz has given me in your

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[10] NOTE BY THE QUEEN.—Riding in the riding-school, the Prince got his knee jammed between his horse and the wall, in consequence of the horse refusing a leap. The knee was severely injured, and retained a deep scar ever after.

[11] See Appendix C. p. 408.

"name. On such a day, when so far separated "from home and the dear ones there, any token "of remembrance that recalls them to us is "doubly welcome.

"I have reviewed in thought all the past "Christmas-eves, most of which we spent with "you, always receiving from you such valuable "presents! This Christmas-eve also I was "near you, at least in spirit. The glass is "really quite beautiful, and I hope soon to "adorn myself with the pretty waistcoat. As "you know, dear Grandmama, we had intended "to spend Christmas week in Brussels, but my "unlucky knee has prevented us. Though not "yet strong enough to bear without injury the "fatigue of such a journey, and the exertions "which would be unavoidable at Brussels, it is "now almost well again. We are exceedingly "sorry to have had to give up this pleasure; "but on the other hand it gives us more time "to repeat our lectures and college work, and "to wait patiently for the cure of my foot.

"At the same time, dear Grandmama, allow "me to lay my most hearty good wishes at your "feet! May every blessing of heaven rest upon "you, and may continued health and unclouded "cheerfulness be yours in the coming year.

"Keep also for me in the years to come the "love and kindness which I have hitherto "rejoiced in from you.

"I still owe you many thanks for two letters "which I have not been able to answer sooner, "as the work always increases so much before "the vacations as to occupy the whole day. "How glad I was to hear that you were quite "well again.

"Of our dear Bonn I have nothing to "tell you. The controversy respecting the "Hanoverian affairs, and that with the Arch-"bishop of Cologne, engross at present the in-"terest and speculation of all conversation here. "Farewell now, dear Grandmama, and keep "in affectionate remembrance

"Your faithful grandson,

"ALBERT."

On the same day the Prince wrote to his father[12] a letter, which is very characteristic of the habit, early acquired by him, of weighing the *truth* of all he heard or saw. What he says of the people of the Rhine, shows how little liable he was to be deceived by eye-service or lip-loyalty, while all his remarks speak for the liberality and tolerance of his own religious

[12] See Appendix C. p. 410.

views. "We had thought," he says, "of "celebrating your birth-day with our dear "uncle at Brussels, but the tiresome blow "I gave my knee prevented us from having "that pleasure. I am, however, quite well "again, only I must still spare my leg a "little, so that, on the one hand, I could not "undertake the fatigues of Brussels, and, on "the other, I shrank from being seen limping "about. We therefore remained quietly at "Bonn, where we are busy with our studies. ". . . . You will no doubt have taken much "interest in the affairs at Cologne. Here "it is the all-engrossing subject, and it is "very evident that the much-extolled loyalty "of the Rhine people is wonderfully loose. "'Prussian' and 'Lutheran heretic' are com-"mon terms of contumely. The party of the "priests seems to be very strong. They find "their chief support in the aristocracy and the "common people; the aristocracy in particular "being very bigoted."

On the 21st January 1838, the Prince informs his father that he is again "quite well "and strong, and once more able, after the "hard work he had gone through, to amuse "himself by making long expeditions on foot."

Having paid the visit to Brussels, which had been prevented by the accident to his knee, he writes to his father, on his return to Bonn, dated March 6th, to say he had returned quite satisfied with the result of his visit, and that the King had spoken fully to him respecting his future prospects. "The Queen," he continues, "had in no way altered her mind, but "did not wish to marry for some time yet." "She thought herself," the Queen says in a memorandum on this subject written in '64, "still too young, and also wished the Prince "to be older when he made his first appearance "in England. In after years she often re-"gretted this decision on her part, and con-"stantly deplored the consequent delay of her "marriage. Had she been engaged to the "Prince a year sooner than she was, and had "she married him at least six months earlier, "she would have escaped many trials and "troubles of different kinds."[13]

"The chief question," the Prince continues in the same letter, "is now as to the arrange-"ment of my mode of life in the meantime. "For the first half year it is settled that I "should remain at Bonn. We have now got

[13] From a Memorandum by the Queen.

"through the most difficult of our studies, and "intend to turn the summer to account in "learning modern languages, and reading poli-"tical works. After that I am to travel in "accordance with your wishes and those of my "uncle, in order to learn to depend more upon "myself. This plan is also most agreeable to "myself, and uncle is trying to get for me as "travelling companion a well-informed young "*Englishman*—a Mr. Seymour."[14]

The details of the proposed journey were to be afterwards settled with his father, when he returned to Coburg, and with the King of the Belgians, to whom he was shortly to pay another visit.

In June 1838 the Coronation of the Queen took place, to which the Duke and Duchess of Coburg were invited—the invitation being

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[14] NOTE BY THE QUEEN.—Now Major-General Seymour, C.B., lately of the Scots Fusilier Guards. General Seymour was appointed Groom in Waiting to the Prince, and is now in the same capacity with the Queen. The Prince told the Queen, in after years, how good a young man he was; and how anxious he had been to keep everything that was bad or impure from approaching him, though, God knows, vice itself would ever have recoiled from the look alone of one who wore "the lily of a blameless life;" but still it is pleasing to record such conduct.

accepted by the Duke, but declined by the Duchess.

"So you go to England to the Coronation," the Prince writes to his father from Bonn on the 23rd May 1838, "and afterwards we shall "have the happiness of seeing you with us. "Inconvenient and tiring as the doings will "be in London, they will still be very in- "teresting. It is really a pity that Mama "should not be going also; it would have been "more natural, and I am sure the Queen will "be very sorry not to see her. At the same "time I must say that I never thought dear "Mama would make up her mind to accept such "an invitation."

On this occasion the Queen conferred the Order of the Garter on the Duke, and the Dowager Duchess of Gotha, writing to him on the 7th August, takes blame to herself for not having sooner congratulated him upon it. "I "know," she says, "this fine Order so well. "My revered father,[15] and my father-in-law,[16] "both had it."

[15] Elector of Hesse-Cassel, and son of a daughter of George II.

[16] Duke of Gotha, nephew to the Princess of Wales, who was mother to George III.

On the 4th August the Prince wrote ag from Bonn:—

"DEAR PAPA,—You will by this time ha "arrived in your dear home! and I am su "after so many fatigues, and being so c "stantly on the move, that you will not "sorry to spend some time quietly at "Rosenau. . . . . The end of the te "is fast approaching, and we are hard at wo "at our studies. The removal of our wh "establishment will resemble the migration "the Jews from Egypt."

This is the last letter we have from t Prince from Bonn. Their residence there w to end with the end of the term, and the tin was to come to which in some of the foregoin letters he has already alluded with such sadnes At the close of their university career, tl brothers, hitherto inseparable, were to go the different ways into the great world.

We cannot do better than end this chapte with the following account by Prince Willia of Löwenstein, of his recollections of the tim spent by him with the young Princes at Bonn which he wrote at the request of the Quee in 1864.

"In 1837, I had the good fortune to make "the acquaintance of Prince Albert of Saxe-"Coburg, at the university of Bonn. Amongst "all the young men at the university he was "distinguished by his knowledge, his diligence, "and his amiable bearing in society. He liked "above all things to discuss questions of public "law and metaphysics, and constantly, during "our many walks, juridical principles or philo-"sophical doctrines were thoroughly discussed. "On such occasions the Councillor Florschutz, "who had accompanied the two Princes from "Coburg, used to turn the conversation to sub-"jects of general interest.

"Such professors as Fichte, Perthès, and "Hollweg, could not fail to exercise a stimu-"lating influence over the youthful minds of "their hearers; and even August Wilhelm von "Schlegel, in spite of his extraordinary vanity, "will not easily be forgotten by those who "attended his lectures.

"Amongst his other social qualities, Prince "Albert possessed a lively sense of the ridicu-"lous, as well as great talent for mimicking; "and it could scarcely fail but that the imme-"diate subjects for the exercise of this talent "should be his own attendants, and the profes-

"sors, who, while absorbed in their lectures, "exhibited some striking peculiarities and odd "manners. Prince Albert could take these off "inimitably, and was enabled by his good "memory to reproduce whole sentences out of "their lectures to the general amusement of his "company. At the same time the Prince's "perfect good taste prevented his ever giving "offence, even when he allowed the most un-"controlled play to his fun.

"The somewhat stiff military nature of the "Princes' governor, Colonel von Wiechmann, "gave occasion to many disputes with the young "Princes, and frequently led to the most comical "scenes. It is impossible to give an idea in "writing of the many trifling occurrences of this "kind, for the ludicrous effect depended more "on the mimicry and accentuation, than upon "the subject itself.

"Amongst those who, without knowing it, "contributed largely to our amusement, was "Oberberg Hauptmann von Beust. He had a "very pleasant house, to which he often invited "us, and spoke with the most genuine Saxon "accent. He was a little, thick-set, very good-"humoured, but somewhat awkward man. One "day he showed us a picture of Venice, and it

"is impossible to forget the gesture and accent "with which, pointing to a row of houses, he "said, 'This is the Ponte Rialte.'

"Another person who afforded us much "amusement was Rath Wolff, in attendance on "the Count of Erbach: as for instance, when "one day tasting some red wine, he exclaimed, "'This is not real Walportzheimer'—a very "simple remark, but which was for years "brought up against him; or when, at another "time, he fell in a race, and had to look for his "spectacles.

"Prince Albert had a great turn for "drawing caricatures, and amongst the scenes "of his university life of which he has thus "perpetuated the memory, Professors Fichte "and Lobell, and the spectacles of Rath Wolff, "are favourite subjects.

"The Prince's humour and sense of the "ludicrous, however, found a natural counter-"poise in his other great and sterling qualities; "and the great business of his later life, the "many important duties he had to fulfil, soon "drove into the background the humourous "part of his character, which had been so pro-"minent at the university.

"As the Prince excelled most of his contem-

"poraries in the use of intellectual weapons, in "the art of convincing, in strictly logical argu- "ment, so he was distinguished also in all "kinds of bodily exercise. In fencing and "the practice of the broadsword he was very "skilful. In fencing especially he excelled so "much, that once in a fencing-match he carried "off the prize from all his competitors.

"I recall with much pleasure our excursion "on foot to the neighbouring Siebengebirge, "so rich in legend; to the valley of the Aar, "where the celebrated Walportzheimer wine "is produced; and up and down the Rhine.

"Two fine greyhounds usually followed the "Princes, one of which, called Eôs" (already mentioned as having been brought by the Prince to England), "was remarkable for "sagacity and beauty, and was so fast that she "could in the shortest time catch a hare and "bring it back. On this account she was Prince "Albert's favourite.

"Music was also a favourite pursuit of the "students. To the despair of Colonel von "Wiechmann, we learned several students' "songs, and even practised the 'Glocke' of "Romberg for four voices. In spite of many "false notes, we went resolutely on, and passed

"many an evening in song. Prince Albert was "looked upon amongst us as a master of the "art.

"Attempts were even made at dramatic "performances, some scene or intrigue being "invented and spoken, and then at once re-"presented. These improvisings had doubtless "little artistic merit, but they were not the less "amusing. Prince Albert was always the "life and soul of them, and acted the principal "parts.

"He entered with the greatest eagerness "into every study in which he engaged, "whether belonging to science or art. He "spared no exertion either of mind or body; "on the contrary he rather sought difficulties "in order to overcome them. The result was "such an harmonious development of his powers "and faculties as is very seldom arrived at.

"Wilhelm
"*Prince Löwenstein.*"

"*Kreuzwertheim on Main,*
May 12, 1864."

CHAPTER IX.

1838—1839.

SEPARATION OF THE BROTHERS—THE PRINCE'S TOUR IN ITALY — BARON STOCKMAR — MAJORITY OF PRINCE ERNEST—PRINCE ALBERT DECLARED OF AGE AT THE SAME TIME—LETTERS.

THE brothers were now to be separated for the first time in their lives, and deeply was the separation felt by both. At the close of their university career the elder, Prince Ernest, was to go to Dresden to enter the Saxon service, while Prince Albert was to set out shortly afterwards for Italy, where he was to spend the winter, according to the plan which, as we have seen, had been already determined upon for him.

They had, however, still two months to spend together at Coburg before the final separation took place, and, attached to each

other as they were, we may easily imagine how dear to them must have been the last days spent together at a home which they both loved so much. These last days had, however, been nearly marked by a sad catastrophe, of which the Prince gives the following account in a letter to his grandmother; and it will be seen that it was only averted by a combination of coolness and good sense, very rare at such moments. Had they opened the doors to call for assistance in the first alarm, as would have been only natural, instead of "shutting themselves in with the fire," the consequences might have been most serious.[1]

"*Coburg, 18th Oct.* 1838.

"DEAR GRANDMAMA,—I have again delayed "writing to you, but when a man is once sunk in "idleness, it is difficult to get out of it.

"I learned from your dear letter to Ernest "that you are better and that you have moved "into your pretty winter residence in all its new "splendour.

"*How perishable such splendour is we felt* "seriously yesterday, when, if God had not "held his protecting hand over us, the whole

[1] See original letter in Appendix C. p. 410.

"palace of Coburg might have become a prey to "the flames, nor we ourselves able in any way "to escape.

"A fire is lit in our rooms every morning "lest we should find them cold when we come "to town occasionally in the afternoon. It "happened the day before yesterday that we "stayed in town after the Play, in order not to "catch cold driving back to the Rosenau. The "next morning I was awoke by an unpleasant "smell; I sprang out of bed to see whether the "register had not been forgotten to be opened "in one of the stoves. The smoke met me "thicker and thicker, but I could not discover "anything. In the fourth room I was met by "the flames darting towards me; it was all on "fire. I called out 'Fire! fire!' when Ernest "and Cart came from their rooms to my assist- "ance. No living soul was in this wing of the "palace, except us three; it was also so early, that "nobody was astir in the neighbourhood. You "can fancy our alarm. We did not take long "to consider, but closed all the doors and shut "ourselves up with the fire. There were only "two jugs with water, and a jug of camomile- "tea at our command, of which we made the "most. Ernest took my cloak and his own and

"threw them upon the flames, while I dragged "all my bedding there, and pressed the mat- "tresses and large counterpanes against the "burning wall. Cart lifted a marble table with "incredible strength and threw it against the "bookcase enveloped in flames, causing it to "fall down. Having thus subdued the fire, we "could think of calling for more help.

"Ernest ran just as he got out of bed "downstairs to the sentry, who gave the alarm, "whilst I and Cart[2] were still working upstairs. "The heat and smoke were so powerful that all

[2] NOTE BY THE QUEEN.—Cart came over to this country with the Prince on his marriage, and remained in his service as valet till he died in August 1858, having been with him twenty-eight years. The Prince received the news of his death at Dusseldorf, just as he was starting with the Queen for Hanover and Babelsberg, and they were both deeply affected by the news. Cart's devotion to the beloved Prince was really quite like that of a nurse for a child, and the Prince never ceased to lament the loss of that faithful servant and true friend, whose discretion and independence of character were most striking. When he died the Prince said to the Queen, that many recollections of his childhood were gone with Cart to the grave. He was a link, he added, with his happy childhood and dear native country which was peculiarly precious to him, living as he did in a foreign land; for that even the Queen could only talk of those times as of history, and as of things of which she personally knew nothing. Cart was a native of Nion near Geneva.

"the windows had fallen out; even the glasses "of the framed pictures were cracked, and the "pictures shrivelled in, and the paint of the "doors is quite charred.

"Help now came in haste from all sides: a "number of workmen brought water up and "extinguished the smouldering fire. A book-"stand with many books and all our prints, "two chairs, a table, a looking-glass, &c. have "been burnt.

"There is no other harm done, but that Cart "and I have burnt the soles of our feet as we "got barefooted into the cinders.

"The accident was caused by the ignorance "of a stoker who had heated a stove that was "not meant to be used, and on which books "and prints were lying, and against which a "quantity of maps were standing.

"The only picture that was not injured is "the one of the fire at the Palace of Gotha.

"Farewell now, dear Grandmama, and "always love

"Your faithful grandson,

"ALBERT.

"*Rosenau, 18th Oct.* 1838.

"P.S.—I shall soon be able to send you "the promised picture."

On the same day that the above narrative of their escape from fire was written, the Dowager Duchess was herself writing to the Duke, to express her pleasure at having seen Prince Albert again, and to bewail the approaching separation of the brothers.

"It was most kind," she writes, Oct. 18, 1838, "to allow the dear children to spend a "day with me, and our dear Albert gave me "a most delightful surprise. I regretted very "much that dear Ernest could not come also. "I sympathize deeply with the poor children "on their approaching separation. With that "moment I am sure the merriest and happiest "period of their lives will have passed. Who "could be otherwise than sad on such an occa-"sion? And who can ever replace the one to "the other? Every day that now passes adds "to my sorrow for them!"

Amongst those who have been mentioned as fellow-students at Bonn with the Prince and his brother, there was no one, as has been already mentioned, with whom the former was more intimate, or to whom he was more attached than Prince William of Löwenstein, whose recollections of their university life conclude the preceding chapter. For some years, after

leaving the university, the Prince kept up an occasional correspondence with him, and he has lately given the Queen some of the letters he received, which are very characteristic of the Prince's warm heart and affectionate disposition. While the brothers were now awaiting at Coburg the dreaded moment which was to bring with it their first separation from each other, the Prince thus writes to his college friend :[3]—

"*Coburg, Oct. 26, 1838.*

"DEAR LÖWENSTEIN,—A thousand thousand "thanks for your dear friendly letter, which is a "proof to us that you still sometimes think of "your true friends. I believe that the pleasant "days which we spent together, partly in useful "occupations, partly in cheerful intercourse (*in* "*froher Unterhaltung*), will ever appear to me "as the happiest of my life. In spite of our "unrestrained intimacy (*Ungenirtheit*) and our "many practical jokes (*den vielen Neckereien*), the "utmost harmony always existed between us. "How pleasant were our winter-concerts—our "theatrical attempts—our walks to the Venusberg "—the swimming-school—the fencing-ground! "I dare not think back upon all these things.

[3] See Appendix C. p. 412, for original.

"Ernest is now going to Dresden in order to "sacrifice himself to Mars (*um sich dort dem* "*Mars zu opfern*). He will there throw himself "entirely into a military existence.

"I shall shortly begin my Italian travels. "I will occasionally give you news of myself "from different places; but you must also write "to me; I will always let you know where to. "In ten or twelve days I shall already have "left my home behind. I shall not set out till "Ernest also launches his vessel, so that he may "not be left behind alone. The separation will "be frightfully painful to us. Up to this moment "we have never, as long as we can recollect, "been a single day away from each other! I "cannot bear to think of that moment!"

Referring to Prince Ernest's intended residence at Dresden, and the approaching separation, the Dowager Duchess again writes on the 1st of November 1838:—

"I was sure that the good King of Saxony "would be delighted at our dear Ernest's "spending some time at Dresden. I should "think happily of this well-selected residence "for him, if dear Albert were only there with "his brother! The thought of the separation of "such fondly attached brothers quite breaks my

"heart, and I cannot reconcile myself to the "great distance which separates him (Prince "Albert) from us."

And again, when the coming separation was yet more imminent: "I can well imagine, my "dear Duke," the Duchess writes, "how pain-"ful for you will be the separation from your "dear sons. May they soon return to their "country, and not easily be induced again to "leave it; for where else could they be so "useful and so safe?"

Towards the end of November the separation was consummated, by the departure of Prince Ernest for Dresden. Prince Albert accompanied him a certain distance on his road, and on his return to Coburg sat down to give [illegible] rand-
mother the following most touchin[illegible] of
his brother's [illegible], and of his o[illegible]
It was, inde[illegible] h to thos[illegible]
loving heart [illegible] been
that the Pri[illegible] left
the change a[illegible] P[illegible]
tear, which [illegible]
his active an[illegible]

"Now I am quite alone. Ernest is far off "(*über alle Berge*)and I am left behind; still "surrounded by so many things which keep up "the constant illusion that he is in the next "room. To whom could I turn, to whom could "I pour out my heart (*meinem Herzen Luft* "*machen*) better than to you, dear Grand-"mama, who always take such interest in every-"thing that happens to us; who also know and "understand us both so well?

"We accompanied Ernest as far as Loben-"stein, where we spent an evening and the "following morning together, with our dear old "great-aunt.[5] She was delighted to have us "with her once more, maybe for the last "time, for she is eighty years old, and very "poorly. The two cousins were also very "kind to us.

"During the evening we were very happy "together. The next morning brought the pain "of parting. We only stayed till twelve o'clock, "and then drove home, this time without "Ernest, arriving at ten o'clock at night, "almost frozen to death.

"We went, as usual, in an open carriage,

[5] Louise, Princess of Reuss-Lobenstein; eldest sister of the Prince and Queen's maternal grandmother.

"and had to endure the cold of 16 degrees "(Reaumur's) while crossing the lovely Fran- "kenwald.

"Now Ernest has slept through his first "night at Dresden. This day will also bring "to him the feeling that something is wanting. "(*Es wird ihm der heutige Tag doch auch etwas* "*leer vorkommen.*) I wrote to him to-day and "expect a few lines from him to-morrow or the "day after, which I will send to you at once if "you like it.

"If I have not written to you for some "time, it was because during the last days we "really had so much to talk and to care about. "I am sure you will not be angry with me. "I must now give up the custom of saying *we* "and use the *I*, which sounds so egotistical and "cold (*des so egoistisch und kalt lautenden Ich's*).

"[6] In *we* everything sounded much softer, "for the *we* expresses the harmony between "different souls, the *I* rather the resistance of "the individual against outward forces, though "also confidence in its own strength (*den Wider-*

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[6] NOTE BY THE QUEEN, *June* 1865.—No one felt the truth and the anguish of this more than the Queen after Dec. 14, 1861, and never can she speak of "my children," but always says "our."

"*stand des Einzelnen gegen die äusseren Krafte,* "*jedoch auch das Vertrauen auf eigene Stärke*).

"I am afraid of tiring you with my talk, and "yet in this present silence it is a comfort to be "able to talk."

"*Coburg, Nov.* 29, 1838."

"A thousand thanks for your last gracious "and very affectionate letter. How pleasant it "is to know that somebody shares the feelings "which animate us. I have had a letter from "Ernest, but as it is of older date than yours, I "do not send it. I was very glad thus to hear "of him more frequently."

"*Coburg, Dec.* 5, 1838."

Prince Albert did not remain long at Coburg after the departure of his brother for Dresden. In the second week of December he set out for Italy, his father accompanying him—as we gather from the following letter from the Dowager Duchess of Gotha—as far as Munich.

"*Gotha,* 9 *Dec.* 1838.

"DEAR DUKE,—In a letter I have just "received from our dear Albert, he tells me "that your journey is fixed for next Monday, "and that you will go with him as far as "Munich. I hasten to assure you of my best

"wishes for a happy journey, and that I can "well imagine how painful the separation from "dear Albert will be to you. My most "affectionate wishes, my prayers and my "blessings follow him. May God grant that "he may return to us as unspoilt in soul and "body as he leaves us! The thought of his "departure makes me melancholy. Dear good "Ernest wrote me a very sad letter from "Dresden on the day of his arrival there. He "*feels himself so alone, which is only natural.*"

Herr Florschütz, who had had the constant direction of the young Princes' education from the time they were five and four years old respectively, had ended his duties as tutor with the close of their university career. Prince Albert was now accompanied to Italy by Baron Stockmar — Stockmar, whose name must be associated in the remembrance of all who had the happiness of knowing him during the many years of his residence at the English Court, with all that they have known of most good and true! Long indeed will the name of "the Baron" live as a household word in the English Palace. What member was there of the Queen's household who could not point,

with grateful remembrance, to some act on his part of kind and considerate friendship? But, above all, what was he to the chief objects of his care and love! Rarely has it fallen to the lot of Queen or Prince to be blessed with so real a friend, in the best sense of that word,—with so wise, so judicious, so honest a counseller. A native of Coburg, and attached to the King of the Belgians from the time when, as Prince Leopold of Saxe-Gotha, he first came to England to marry our Princess Charlotte, his whole life may be said to have been devoted to the Coburg family.

Watching the youth of the young Princes, he was not slow to discover and appreciate the remarkable qualities of head and heart that distinguished even the boyhood of Prince Albert; and he had early looked forward to his marriage with the young Princess, his cousin, as being better qualified than any other Prince he knew, to fill the difficult position of Consort to the Sovereign of this great Empire.

For many years after that hope had been realized—indeed till within three or four years of the Prince's untimely death—the English Court was his chief residence, and he had the satisfaction of seeing for himself how all the expecta-

tions he had formed of the happy results of such a marriage were more than fulfilled.[7]

Revered and beloved by all who were brought into contact with him,—deserving and enjoying the unbounded confidence, not only of the Queen and Prince, but of the leading statesmen[8] of all parties,—employing his great influence for no selfish end; but seeking only to do good and to be of use,—there was but one feeling of sorrow when advancing years and failing health led him to think the time was come, when he should withdraw from a Palace where he had so long lived, the beloved and trusted friend of all beneath its roof, from the

[7] NOTE BY THE QUEEN.—The Queen looking back with gratitude and affection to the friend of their early married life, can never forget the assistance given by the Baron to the young couple in regulating their movements and general mode of life, and in directing the education of their children.

[8] NOTE BY THE QUEEN.—Lord Melbourne had the greatest regard and affection for, and the most unbounded confidence in him. At the commencement of the Queen's reign the Baron was of invaluable assistance to Lord Melbourne. Lord Aberdeen also, speaking of him to the Queen, said: "I have known men as clever, as discreet, as good, and with as much judgment; but I never knew any one who united all these qualities as he did. He is a most remarkable man!" The Baron had the greatest regard, in return, for "my good Aberdeen," as he called him.

Queen on the throne to the humblest member of her household.

From the time that he thus withdrew from the English Court, he lived almost entirely at Coburg, and it is perhaps not too much to say, that a main inducement to the visit which the Queen and Prince made to that place in 1860, was the wish to see their old friend once again. Little could it then have been foreseen that it was the last time "the Prince" and "the Baron" (with what fond affection one still lingers over those beloved and familiar names!) were to meet again in this world. Still less could the Baron have anticipated, when rejoicing with the Queen over the Prince's providential escape, during this visit to Coburg, from an accident that might well have proved fatal[9]—that he himself, full of years and shattered as

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[9] As the Prince was returning from a morning visit to the Katenberg, in a carriage belonging to the Duke of Coburg, the horses took fright and ran away. After running for some distance at a frightful pace, the Prince, seeing that they were fast approaching the crossing over the railroad, where the gates were shut, and that a fearful crash was inevitable, watched his time and jumped out, escaping with a few rather severe bruises and scratches about the face. The coachman, who kept his seat till the collision occurred was much hurt.

he was in health, would live to see the object of so much love, of such anxious and affectionate care, such fond expectation, borne before himself to the tomb;—that the life which had been thus providentially preserved, would, within a few months, by the inscrutable decree of Heaven, be suddenly cut short, apparently in the full vigour of its strength, and in the full career of its usefulness.

Once again, in 1862, did the Queen see the good old man; to weep together over the sore affliction that had fallen upon them since they met only two short years before. But ere another year had come round, and while the Queen, in 1863, was looking forward to another visit to Coburg, in the hope of *once more* seeing the dear Baron, the intelligence arrived that his health had suddenly given way, to be followed, in a post or two, by the news that this kindest, best, and most devoted, as well as most disinterested of friends was no more. On the 9th July 1863 the Baron followed his beloved Prince to the grave.

And thus was fulfilled the anticipation in which he had himself indulged, when, during that last visit to Coburg, "the crushed and "broken-hearted widow, speaking to him of "their beloved Prince, and showing him the

"pictures and photographs of him which covered "the table, the Baron exclaimed—'My dear, "'good Prince,—how happy I shall be to see "'him again! And it will not be long.'"[10]

After some stay at Munich, where he parted from his father, the Prince proceeded on his journey to Italy, and arrived at Florence on the 24th December 1838, where he remained till the beginning of March 1839. He thus describes his journey:—

"*Florence, Dec.* 30, 1838.

"Last night we at last arrived at the place "of our destination—the far-famed Florence. "I make it my first duty, dearest Papa, to "give you an account of our journey. In "general we made very short days' journeys, on "account of Baron Stockmar's health, and slept "at the following places:—Kufstein, Innsprück, "Sterzing, Trent, Verona, Mantua, Modena, "Bologna, Covigliaio, Florence. The road over "the Brenner offered no difficulties. There was "very little, and sometimes no snow on the road, "but for five days we had cold of 12 degrees.[11]

"Since we have left the Alps behind the "cold is indeed less severe, but the whole

[10] Memorandum by the Queen. [11] Reau

"North Italy is covered with snow three feet "deep. We found so much snow in the Apen- "nines that we took five hours to accomplish "what should have been done in less than three, "though we had six horses and two oxen to the "carriage. I often fancied myself at Oberhof."[12]

On the 9th January 1839, he again writes: "We are now established in the Casa Cerini, a "house belonging to the Marquis Cerini, which "is very well situated. We have very airy and "pretty rooms, still furnished in the style of "Louis XIV." (After mentioning that he had been the week before to Pisa, to attend the funeral of Princess Marie of Würtemberg,[13] he proceeds): "I left immediately after the funeral "and returned to Florence, having heard that "the Duc de Nemours wished to leave Pisa the "same day, in order to get away as soon as "possible from a place connected with so many "painful recollections."

In his letters, towards the end of his stay at

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12 A shooting lodge in the Thüringerwald, belonging to the Duke, between Gotha and Coburg.

13 Daughter of King Louis Philippe. Her husband, Duke Alexander, was first-cousin of the Prince, being the son of the Duke of Coburg's sister, Antoinette, married to the Duke of Würtemberg.—*See* Appendix A. p. 375.

Florence, the Prince describes his life as having been very gay; dining out a great deal, and attending balls; one of which, given at the Pergola Theatre, he mentions as having been particularly brilliant, and of his having danced at it till he was quite tired. But we may be sure that his time was also more usefully spent in studying all that was best and most remarkable in art, for though he never visited Florence again, the intimate acquaintance he displayed in after years with all the best art treasures of that city, afforded indisputable proof of the impression made upon him by what he now saw. He was always a great admirer of the buildings at Florence, and amongst these there was none he admired more than the Palazzo Pitti, which he especially mentions for the beauty of the external architecture, and the magnificence of the apartments.[14]

On the 9th February 1839 the Prince was joined at Florence by Lieutenant (now Major-General) Seymour, of the 19th Regiment, who, at the request of the King of the Belgians, had obtained leave of absence from his Regiment in order to travel with his nephew. Mr. Seymour, in a memorandum of

[14] Memorandum by the Queen.

his recollections of this journey, written in 1863, by the Queen's command, describes the Prince, whom he then saw for the first time, as being "slight in figure and rather tall, his face "singularly handsome and intelligent, his features "regular and delicate; his complexion, which, "later, from exposure to an Italian sun became "brown, was then fair and clear. He had, in "addition to these advantages, a great look of "goodness and distinction, which, young as he "was in years, impressed all who were fortu- "nate enough to be thrown into his society."

Of the Prince's life at Florence he gives the following account:—

"The Prince was staying at the Casa Cerini, "Via del Coromen. . . . . He rose at six "o'clock. After a light breakfast he studied "Italian under a Signor Martini, read English "with me for an hour, played on the organ or "piano, composed, sung till twelve o'clock, "when he generally walked, visiting some "gallery, or seeing some artist. He returned "home at two to a simple dinner, which he "hurried over as much as possible, giving as a "reason that 'eating was a waste of time.'[15] His

15 NOTE BY THE QUEEN.—The Queen has constantly heard the Prince say this.

"drink was water. After dinner he again "played and sang for an hour, when the "carriage was announced, and he usually paid "some visits. The visits over, the carriage "was dismissed, and the great delight of the "Prince was to take long walks in the beautiful "country round Florence. This he appeared "heartily to enjoy. He became at once gay "and animated. 'Now I can breathe—now I "am happy![16] Such were his constant excla-"mations. He seldom returned home till seven "o'clock, his hour for tea; and, if not going to "the Opera or an evening-party, he joined in "some interesting and often amusing conversa-"tion with Baron Stockmar, when the latter "felt well enough to come to tea. At nine, or

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[16] Note by the Queen.—This the Prince constantly expressed on arriving at Osborne and Balmoral, and on leaving London. "How sweet it smells. How "delicious the air is! One begins to breathe again!" And how he delighted in the song of birds, and especially of nightingales!—listening for them in the happy peaceful walks he used to take with the Queen in the woods at Osborne, and whistling to them in their own peculiar long note, which they invariably answer! The Queen cannot hear this note now without fancying she hears him, and without the deepest, saddest emotion. At night he would stand on the balcony, at Osborne, in May, listening to the nightingales.

"soon after, he was in bed and asleep—for he "had been accustomed to such early hours in "his own country, that he had great difficulty "in keeping himself awake when obliged to sit "up late."

The Grand Duke Leopold, Mr. Seymour says, was extremely attentive to the young Prince, expressing not only a sincere personal regard for him, but an unfeigned admiration of his character and disposition. "On one occa-"sion," Mr. Seymour relates, "the Grand Duke "was much struck by observing the Prince "engaged in a warm discussion with the blind "Marquis Capponi, a very eminent and re-"spected member of the Tuscan aristocracy, "and said to Lady Augusta Fox" (wife of the Hon. Henry Fox, afterwards Lord Holland, who was then English Minister at Florence), "Here is a Prince of whom we may be proud. "Lovely partners wait for him, while he is "occupied with the learned."

To his old college friend, Prince Löwenstein, the Prince himself describes his life, and his impressions of Florence as follows:[17]—

17 See original letter in Appendix C. p. 414.

"*Feb.* 25, 1839.

"DEAR LÖWENSTEIN,—I have long wished "to write you a few lines, to thank you for "your dear letter of the 3rd January, which I "received here, sent after me from Gotha. But "you know that the best intentions are ever "the most rarely carried out, and thus it is that "I am so late in writing.

"Oh! Florence, where I have been for two "months, has gathered to herself noble trea-"sures of art. I am often quite intoxicated "with delight when I come out of one of the "galleries. The country round Florence, too, "possesses extraordinary attractions. I have "lately thrown myself entirely into the whirl of "society (*in den Strudel der Gesellschaften*). "I have danced, dined, supped, paid compli-"ments, have been introduced to people, and "had people introduced to me; have spoken "French and English—exhausted all remarks "about the weather—have played the amiable "—and, in short, have made 'bonne mine "'à mauvais jeu.' You know my *passion* for "such things, and must therefore admire my "*strength of character, that I have never ex-*"cused myself—never returned home till five "in the morning—that I have emptied the

"carnival cup to the dregs (*Carnevalsbecher* "*bis auf den Boden geleert habe.*)

"My stay at Florence will not last much "longer. On the 10th of March I go to Rome, "where I shall remain three weeks. Thence "I shall hasten to Naples, and before the "overpowering heat begins, hope to have "the white peaks of the Alps once more in "sight.

"I must now again say good-by, dear "Löwenstein. Think sometimes with affection "of your sincere friend,

"ALBERT."

The Prince left Florence with much regret on the 12th March, being anxious to arrive in Rome before the Holy Week. He slept at Arezzo, Perugia, Terni, and Cività Castellana, and arrived at Rome in a storm of rain on the fifth day. He immediately wrote to his father, and thus describes his journey, and his impression ("anything but favourable," according to Mr. Seymour) of the Eternal City:[18]—

"*Rome*, 17 *March* 1839.

"DEAR PAPA,—We arrived yesterday even-

18 See Appendix C. pp. 415 *et seqq.*, for original of this and following letters.

"ing in the world-renowned (*weltberühmten*) "city of Rome, and I at once sit down to "announce it. We took four days to per-"form the journey, visiting several places of "note on our way; such as the celebrated water-"fall at Terni, which is really more grand than "any of those we saw in Switzerland; the lake "of Trasimene; the bridge of Augustus at "Narni, &c.

"Yesterday I took a walk with Mr. Seymour "through the streets of Rome, but I find it "hard to persuade myself that I am really in "Rome. But for some beautiful palaces, it "might just as well be any town in Germany. "By the 1st of April I expect to have seen "all the sights here, and on the first days of "next month to be able to continue our journey "to Naples."

During the time the Prince remained in Rome, he devoted himself assiduously to seeing all that was best worth his attention. "He "rose," Mr. Seymour says, "at daybreak, wrote "his letters, and at nine o'clock began his visits "to the different galleries and studios, return-"ing only to partake of a hurried dinner, after "which he again set out, and spent the time

"till sunset in visiting some of the interesting "remains of ancient Rome."

On the 31st March he describes all he had seen during Easter week. He says he had been interested, but that the only ceremony which had not disappointed him, as being less grand and imposing than he had expected, was that of the "Pope's blessing the people, assem-"bled before the Vatican, from the balcony, "amidst the ringing of bells, firing of cannon, "and military music." "It was," he says, "really a most imposing scene," though what followed was tedious "and savoured strongly "of idolatry."

"Last Tuesday," he adds in the same letter, "I had the honour of an interview with "his Holiness.[19] The old gentleman was very "kind and civil. I remained with him nearly "half an hour, shut up in a small room. We "conversed in Italian on the influence the "Egyptians had had on Greek art, and that "again on Roman art. The Pope asserted that "the Greeks had taken their models from the "Etruscans. In spite of his infallibility I ven-"tured to assert that they had derived their "lessons in art from the Egyptians."

19 Pope Gregory XVI.

In the same letter the Prince mentions his having unexpectedly met the Crown Prince of Bavaria, also Prince and Princess Peter of Oldenburg, and of having also seen Don Miguel the ex-King of Portugal. In this and other letters H. R. H. speaks enthusiastically of the beautiful things with which Rome is filled.

At the beginning of April the Prince left Rome for Naples, from whence he thus writes to his father, on the 11th :—

"I have now been here about five days, and "occupied with seeing the lions, of which, how- "ever, Naples has not many to show. The "natural beauties of the place, which are "really wonderful, are what strike one. But I "have not been able to enjoy them as I could "wish, as the southern colouring is quite "wanting. The surrounding mountains, and "even Vesuvius, are covered with snow; and "the sky and the sea are so dull and grey, "that one might fancy oneself transported to "the North Sea. They say when the moon "changes, which it will do in a few days, that "we may expect a change for the better.

"The day before yesterday I paid a visit to "the King and Queen. . . ."

And again on the 25th of the same month :—

"A thousand thanks for your last letter, "which *puts me in possession of the plans for* "your journey. To-morrow early I leave "Naples, and shall now step by step, but with-"out making a long halt at any place, ascend "the west coast of Italy, and expect to be at "Turin towards the end of next month. How "rejoiced I shall be to see you again either on "Italian soil, or in the Swiss mountains! You "will at all events find a letter from me at "Milan, '*poste restante*,' in which I will give "you the latest news of my travels. My stay "at Naples has been most interesting, and I "have profited by *it to* see all the sights. "Nothing struck me so much as Pompeii, a "most singular and interesting place.

"I have visited the most interesting places "in the neighbourhood: Vesuvius, Pæstum, "Sorrento, and the Island of Capri. In spite "*of* all this, I should *much* like to be with you "at Vienna."

On the 5th May we find him again at Pisa, on his way home. "We left Naples," he writes on that day, "on the *26th* ult., going direct *to* "Rome, where I remained two days; one, in "order to take a general glance at the objects

"which, during my long stay, I had seen in "detail; the other, in order to visit Tivoli. "We are now come here direct by Viterbo "and Sienna, without going near Florence. I "shall remain here to-day, go to-morrow to "Leghorn, and return here. I shall then take "my way by Lucca to Genoa, which I hope to "reach by the 9th. My stay there will only be "for two or three days, so that I hope certainly "to leave by the 13th, and to pursue my journey "to the north, by the route of Novi. If I there "hear positive news of you from Milan, I will "hasten to that place; if not, I shall go to "Turin and stay for a few days there. Thence "I should cross by the St. Bernard to Lau-"sanne, and so on to Berne, where I shall, at "all events, await your coming."

The Prince spent some days at Milan, where, as he had hoped, he was joined by his father and his cousin Count Hugo Mensdorff. On their arrival Baron Stockmar left the Prince, and returned to his family at Coburg.

The Prince spent several days at Milan, and on the 19th May proceeded with his father and cousin to the lake of Como, and thence crossing into Switzerland by the Simplon, they travelled by the lake of Geneva to Ve[illegible]

they remained for a day. From Vevay they descended the lake to Geneva, where the Prince met his aunt, the Grand Duchess Anne of Russia.[20] Here Mr. Seymour, whose leave of absence had expired, left the Prince and returned to England.

Having remained some days at Geneva, the Prince set out with his father on his return to Coburg, where the coming of age of his brother, the Hereditary Prince, on the 21st of June, was to be celebrated with all the customary formality and rejoicings.

By a special act of the legislature, Prince Albert was at the same time declared to be of age; and in a letter the next day to his grandmother, after mentioning that his brother had been delighted with her letter and present, which "he had given him as soon as he awoke," he goes on to express the gratification it had been to him, that in this important step of their lives, he and his brother had "still been allowed "to go hand in hand."

"I appreciate," he adds, "this proof of "Papa's affection and confidence as I ought.

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[20] Married to the Grand Duke Constantine (brother to the Emperor Nicholas), from whom, however, she had been long separated.

"And this assurance is what makes this step so "agreeable to me; for without it, the thought "that I had ceased to be a child of the house "would have been rather a source of sorrow "than of pleasure. I shall do my best to show "myself in all things deserving of his confi- "dence. How I should like now to be with "you for a few moments!"

We will conclude this chapter with another letter to his old college friend:[21] interesting from the unreserved and familiar tone in which it is written, as well as from the insight it gives into the Prince's character, in his lamentations over what he considers the idle life he was leading, the retrospect of his Italian tour, the expressed determination, under all circumstances, to maintain his independence; and above all, in the warmth of affection with which he speaks of his home, of his brother, and of the friend to whom the letter is addressed.

"*Coburg, 30th June 1839.*

"Dear Löwenstein,—Your dear letter from "Berlin has given me great pleasure, for I had "heard nothing of you for very long. So you "are well and happy, and bear your fate, in being

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[21] See Appendix C. p. 418.

"an inhabitant of the Berlin Sand Regions "(*Sandsteppe*), with fortitude and patience. I "can, however, imagine that the university and "the many distinguished and celebrated men "who labour there, afford a rich compensation. "When I say the word 'university,' and re- "member all the good resolutions which I there "made, I am quite ashamed of my present "life, which consists chiefly in dawdling (*herum- "schlendern*) about, and exchanging compli- "ments. I must, however, acknowledge that "my late Italian tour was of great advantage "to me. It has made an impression upon me, "not so much by its particular incidents as by "its general character. My sphere of obser- "vation (*Gesichtskreis*) has been doubled, and "my power of forming a right judgment will be "much increased by having seen for myself.

"Italy is truly a most interesting country, "and an inexhaustible source of knowledge. "One contrives, however, to taste extraordi- "narily little of the enjoyment which one there "promises oneself. In many, many respects "the country is far behind what one had "expected. In the climate, in the scenery, in "the study of the arts, one feels most dis- "agreeably disappointed.

"On the whole, my life was very pleasant. "The society of a man so highly distinguished "as Baron Stockmar was most precious and "valuable to me. I was also accompanied by "a young and very amiable Englishman, a Mr. "Seymour, with whom I have become very "*intimate*. Above all that complete harmony "which is so necessary for any enjoyment of "life, always existed amongst us.

"On the 21st of June we celebrated "Ernest's birth-day here, his twenty-first, when "he became of age [illegible]. I had "also the great happiness of being declared on "the same day, by a Government patent, of full "age, and I am now my own master, as I hope "always to be, and under all circumstances.* "In consequence of this event we have had "great fêtes here, in which the whole country "has most heartily taken part.

"On the 13th (July) I shall accompany "Ernest to Dresden, and stay with him for "about fourteen days. Then must I go to a "place that I hate mortally, that charming "Carlsbad, where Papa is taking the waters "and much wishes me to be with him. I hope

* Note by the Queen.—How truly this was to be carried out.

"this campaign will be over by the middle of "August.

"You will easily believe the great pleasure "it has been to me to see Ernest and dear "Coburg again. I have found the Rath[23] "married! Wiechmann[24] I saw at Geneva, "with my aunt the Grand Duchess. Oh! that "I could come across your path somewhere or "other! It would please me so much to be "able to spend only a few hours with you!

"Engrossed by this thought, I go on "talking to you for hours, and forget that "you have something else to do than to read "my scrawls.

"At once, therefore, good-by! Let me "soon hear from you, and do not forget

"Your true friend,

"ALBERT."

In explanation of what the Prince says in the above letter of his proposed visit to Carlsbad, it should be added, that in writing to Baron Stockmar from Geneva on the 28th of the preceding May, after expressing his regret at having there parted from Mr. Seymour, "the last of our pleasant travelling

[23] M. Florschütz. [24] He died in October 1861.

"party," the Prince proceeds: "The happy "prospect of approaching nearer and nearer to "dear Coburg would sustain me, were it not "for a proposition of Papa's which makes me "shudder, namely, to accompany him to Carls- "bad" Alluding then playfully to the advice given him, that he should "accustom himself "more to society," and "pay more attention to "the ladies," which, "as an occupation," he particularly disliked,[25] he adds: "I had, on the "contrary, formed the finest plans for the study "of the English language and history, for "which the quiet of the Rosenau would have "been particularly well suited. (*Ich hatte* "*dagegen die schönsten Pläne zu Englischen* "*Sprach- und Geschichts-studien gemacht, zu wel-* "*chen mir die Stille der Rosenau sehr zu Statten* "*kommen konnte.*)"

The Prince's love of music has been already noticed, and the singing-parties at Bonn described by Prince Löwenstein[26] will scarcely be forgotten.

During his last visit to Gotha, he had formed a Singing Society in which he himself bore part,

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[25] Memorandum by the Queen.

[26] See chapter VIII. p. 172.

and the following letter, written during the stay with his brother at Dresden, which he had announced his intention of making, shows the interest he continued to take in it:

TO CONCERT-MASTER SPAETH.[27]

"MY DEAR CONCERT-MASTER,—You will have "received through Privy Councillor Florschütz "the last parcel of my contributions to the "Singing Society got together by me at Gotha.

"I send you to-day Beethoven's much "wished-for and highly admired *Praise of* "*Music*. As parts of it only could be got "here, I had to write to Leipzig for it, which "accounts for your only now receiving it. You "will find the instrumental music written out "in parts, as well as that for the vocal per-"formers, which, by a lucky mistake of the "shopkeeper, is in duplicate. The whole "comes more expensive than I at first ex-"pected. It will amount to a sum of about "sixty florins, showing that we shall not be "able to make any important acquisitions out "of our funds.

"You may now hand over this cantata to

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27 For original of letter, see Appendix C. p. 420.

"the library of the Singing Society. I would "only ask you to send me back the music for "the pianoforte (*den Klavierauszug*) after the "concert has taken place.

"I offer myself for the basso-solo in the "cantata, which, though not important, seems "to be very interesting. It will, perhaps, give "you some trouble to find *two* good sopranos. "For the part of the violin obligato, which is "extremely beautiful, Eichhorn will suit very "well.

"Now, good-by, my dear Concert-master. "Send me some account to Carlsbad of the re-"hearsals of Handel and Nencini.

"Ever yours sincerely,

"ALBERT."

"*Dresden, July 23rd, 1839.*"

After leaving Dresden, the much dreaded visit to Carlsbad was paid, and he writes thence to Baron Stockmar on the 9th August, complaining of having been asked to go to Reinhardsbrunn immediately after returning to Coburg, *which, as an interruption to his proposed course of study,* he disliked as much as the visit to Carlsbad. His going to Reinhardsbrunn, however, was not insisted upon, for, on the 6th

September he writes to the Baron from the Rosenau to announce his arrival there, "having "at last carried my point, in order to enjoy "some days of quiet and regular occupation."

The stay at the Rosenau was, however, short, for early in October he had again to leave it, to pay that eventful visit to England which will be the subject of the next chapter.

CHAPTER X.

1839.

VISIT TO ENGLAND—THE MARRIAGE OF THE QUEEN AND PRINCE SETTLED.

THE time was now approaching when the marriage, to the possibility of which the grandmother of the Queen and Prince, the Dowager Duchess of Coburg, had so fondly looked forward when they were both children, and which, for the last year, had been the object of such anxious wishes and such sanguine expectations, was to be finally settled.

From a very early period the hope expressed by the Dowager Duchess of Coburg had assumed the form of a definite idea, that might some day be realised; and the Prince used to relate that "when he was a child of "three years old, his nurse always told him "that he should marry the Queen, and that

"when he first thought of marrying at all, he "always thought of her."[1]

As the children grew up this idea was warmly encouraged by the King of the Belgians, from whom, indeed, the Queen first heard of it. He had always taken the most affectionate and parental interest in her welfare and happiness, and she herself ever looked up to him with the love and respect of a daughter. Baron Stockmar also had early formed the highest opinion of the young Prince, and his letters to the King of the Belgians, written in the spring of 1836, express his strong conviction that no Prince whom he knew, was so well qualified to make the Queen happy, or fitly to sustain the arduous and difficult position of Prince Consort in England.[2]

"How this early promise of distinction was "fulfilled," the Queen says in the memorandum from which this account is taken, "how im- "measurably all the most sanguine expecta- "tions were surpassed—how the King's fondest "hopes were realised ten thousandfold—and "how the fearful blow which took him from us

1 The Queen's Journal, June 23rd, 1840.

2 Memorandum by the Queen, March 1864.

"put an end to all this happiness, and cut short "his brilliant and useful career, we all know!"

But the idea of such a marriage met also with much opposition; and the late King William IV. did everything in his power to discourage it.[3] No less than five other marriages had been contemplated for the young Princess; and the King, though he never mentioned the subject to the Princess herself, was especially anxious to bring about an alliance between her and the late Prince Alexander of the Netherlands, brother to the present King of Holland. In his anxiety to effect this object, he did everything he could (though, as has been seen, ineffectually,) to prevent the Duke of Coburg's visit to England in 1836, when he came over with his sons and spent nearly four weeks at Kensington Palace with the Duchess of Kent.[4]

It was then that the Queen and the Prince

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[3] Note by the Queen.—Queen Adelaide, in later years, said to the Queen, that if she had told the King that it was her own earnest wish to marry her cousin, and that her happiness depended on it, he would at once have given up his opposition to it, as he was very fond of, and always very kind to, his niece.

[4] Memorandum by the Queen.

met for the first time; and her Majesty thus records her impressions of the visit:—

"The Prince was at that time much shorter "than his brother, already very handsome, but "very stout, which he entirely grew out of "afterwards. He was most amiable, natural, "unaffected, and merry;—full of interest in "everything—playing on the piano with the "Princess, his cousin—drawing; in short, con-"stantly occupied. He always paid the greatest "attention to all he saw, and the Queen remem-"bers well how intently he listened to the "sermon preached in St. Paul's, when he and "his father and brother accompanied the "Duchess of Kent and the Princess there, on "the occasion of the service attended by the "children of the different charity schools. It "is indeed rare to see a Prince not yet "seventeen years of age bestowing such earnest "attention on a sermon."[5]

Though nothing at this time had passed between the Queen and Prince themselves, (nor, indeed, till after the arrival of the Prince in England in 1839), yet after the visit of 1836, the belief in a marriage being intended

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5 Memorandum by the Queen, March 1864.

had become very general; and it was in order to divert public attention from the subject that the King of the Belgians had counselled the tour in Switzerland, which was undertaken in May 1838.

It was probably in the early part of that year that the King, in writing to the Queen, first mentioned the idea of such a marriage; and the proposal must have been favourably entertained, for in March 1838, the King writes to Baron Stockmar, and gives an account of the manner in which Prince Albert had received the communication which, of course with the Queen's sanction, he had made to him. In this and other letters the King strongly expresses the high opinion he had formed of the young Prince.

"I have had a long conversation with "Albert," the King writes to Baron Stockmar in March 1838, "and have put the whole case "honestly and kindly before him. He looks "at the question from its most elevated and "honourable point of view. He considers "that troubles are inseparable from all human "positions, and that therefore, if one must be "subject to plagues and annoyances, it is "better to be so for some great or worthy "object than for trifles and miseries. I have "told him that his great youth would make it

"necessary to postpone the marriage for a few "years. . . . . I found him very sensible on all these points. But one thing he "observed with truth. 'I am ready,' he said, "'to submit to this delay, if I have only some "'certain assurance to go upon. But if, after "'waiting, perhaps, for three years, I should find "'that the Queen no longer desired the mar- "'riage, it would place me in a very ridiculous "'position, and would, to a certain extent, ruin "'all the prospects of my future life.'" . . . . "Now again," the King proceeds farther on, "about Albert. If I am not very much mis- "taken, he possesses all the qualities required "to fit him completely for the position he will "occupy in England. His understanding is "sound—his apprehension clear and rapid— "and his feelings in all matters appertaining to "personal appearance, quite right. He has "great powers of observation, and possesses "much prudence, without anything about him "that can be called cold or morose."

In the same letter the King mentions the opinion of the instructor of the Princes, Colonel Wiechmann, who, while praising both the Princes, describes Albert as possessing great power of self-control for so young a man;

adding that he "will find this quality most "useful to himself in after life."

But both the Prince and his father seem to have objected from the first to the proposal that a few years should elapse before the marriage should take place; and the King, in another letter to Baron Stockmar, of the 12th September 1838, again says:—

"The young gentlemen arrived here yester- "day. Albert is much improved. He looks so "much more manly, and from his 'tournure' "one might easily take him to be twenty-two "or twenty-three." (At this time he was not nineteen.)

"I have spoken to Albert," he adds . . . "What his father says upon the subject of the "marriage is true.

"Albert is now passed eighteen. If he "waits till he is in his twenty-first, twenty- "second, or twenty-third year, it will be impos- "sible for him to begin any new career, and "his whole life would be *marred* if the Queen "should change her mind."

The Queen says, she never entertained any idea of this, and she afterwards repeatedly informed the Prince that she would never have married any one else. She expresses,

however, great regret that she had not, after her accession, kept up her correspondence with her cousin, as she had done before it.

"Nor can the Queen now," she adds, "think "without indignation against herself, of her wish "to keep the Prince waiting for probably three "or four years, at the risk of ruining all his pro-"spects for life, until she might feel inclined "to marry! And the Prince has since told "her that he came over in 1839 with the inten-"tion of telling her, that if she could *not then* "make up her mind, she must understand that "he could not now wait for a decision, as he "had done at a former period when this mar-"riage was first talked about.

"The only excuse the Queen can make for "herself is in the fact, that the sudden change "from the secluded life at Kensington to the "independence of her position as Queen Reg-"nant, at the age of eighteen, put all ideas of "marriage out of her mind, which she now "most bitterly repents.

"A worse school for a young girl, or one "more detrimental to all natural feelings and "affections, cannot well be imagined, than the "position of a Queen at eighteen, without "experience and without a husband to guide

"and support her. This the Queen can state "from painful experience, and she thanks God "that none of her dear daughters are exposed "to such danger."[6]

In the month of July 1839, after the majority of the Princes had been celebrated at Coburg, as related in the last chapter, Prince Albert had accompanied his brother, who was then in the Saxon service, on his return to Dresden. The King of Saxony had often expressed a wish to see him, and his regret at not seeing them both oftener at Dresden. From thence Prince Albert went to Töplitz, where he met his cousin, Count Arthur Mensdorff, with whom he joined his father at Carlsbad.

How reluctantly he gave this time to Carlsbad, which he thought might have been so much better employed in the study of the English language and history at the Rosenau, has been already mentioned.

But the visit to England was now to be paid, which was to decide the fate of the young Prince's life. At the beginning of October we find him with his brother at Brussels, from whence they set out on the 8th of that month,

[6] Memorandum by the Queen.

charged with the following letter from the King of the Belgians to the Queen :—

"*Laeken, Oct.* 8, 1839.

"MY DEAREST VICTORIA,—Your cousins "will be themselves the bearers of these lines. "I recommend them to your 'bienveillance.' "They are good and honest creatures de-"serving your kindness, and not pedantic, but "really sensible and trustworthy. I have told "them that your great wish is that they should "be quite 'unbefangen' (quite at their ease) "with you.

"I am sure that if you have anything to "recommend to them they will be most happy "to learn it from you. . . .

"My dear Victoria,

"Your most devoted Uncle,

"LEOPOLD R."

Leaving Brussels on Tuesday, the 8th October, the Princes arrived at Windsor Castle on Thursday the 10th, at half-past seven in the evening. They here met with the most cordial and affectionate reception from the Queen, who received them herself at the top of the staircase, and conducted them at once to the Duchess of Kent.

The three years that had passed since they were last in England had greatly improved their personal appearance. Tall and manly as both the Princes were in figure and deportment, Prince Albert was indeed eminently handsome. But there was also in his countenance a gentleness of expression, and a peculiar sweetness in his smile, with a look of deep thought and high intelligence in his clear blue eye and expansive forehead, that added a charm to the impression he produced in those who saw him, far beyond that derived from mere regularity or beauty of features. "Their clothes "not having arrived," the Queen says, "they "could not appear at dinner, but came in after "it, in spite of their morning dresses." Lord Melbourne, who, as well as Lord Clanricarde, Lord and Lady Granville, Baron Brunnow, Lord Normanby, was staying in the Castle at the time, said at once to the Queen, "that he was struck with Prince Albert's likeness to her."[1]

The way of life at Windsor during the stay of the Princes was much as follows:—The Queen breakfasting at this time in her own room, they afterwards paid her a visit there;

[1] The Queen's Journal, October 10, 1839.

and at two o'clock had luncheon with her and the Duchess of Kent. In the afternoon they all rode—the Queen and Duchess and the two Princes with Lord Melbourne and most of the ladies and gentlemen in attendance, forming a large cavalcade. There was a great dinner every evening, with a dance after it three times a week.

But on the 15th there was an important interruption to the ordinary routine of the day. The Queen had told Lord Melbourne the day before that she had made up her mind to the marriage, at which he expressed great satisfaction, and said to her, as her Majesty states in her journal, "I think it will be very well received; for I hear that there is an anxiety now that it should be, and I am very glad of it;" adding, "It is quite a national thing. You will be much more comfortable; for a woman cannot stand alone for any time, in whatever position she may be."* Can we wonder that the Queen, recalling these circumstances, should exclaim, "Alas! alas! the poor Queen now stands in that painful position!"

An intimation was accordingly given to the

* The Queen's Journal, October 14, 1839.

Prince, through Baron Alvensleben, Master of the Horse to the Duke of Coburg, and long attached to his family, who had accompanied the Prince to England, that the Queen wished to speak to him the next day.

On that day, the 15th, the Prince had been out hunting early with his brother, but returned at twelve, and half an hour afterwards obeyed the Queen's summons to her room, where he found her alone. After a few minutes' conversation on other subjects, the Queen told him why she had sent for him; and we can well understand any little hesitation and delicacy she may have felt in doing so; for the Queen's position, making it imperative that any proposal of marriage should come first from her, must necessarily appear a painful one to those who, deriving their ideas on this subject from the practice of private life, are wont to look upon it as the privilege and happiness of a woman to have her hand sought in marriage, instead of having to offer it herself.

How the Prince received the offer will appear best from the following few lines which he wrote the next day to the old friend of his family, Baron Stockmar, who was naturally one of the first to be informed of his engagement:—"I

"write to you," he says, "on one of the happiest "days of my life, to give you the most welcome "news possible;" and having then described what took place, he proceeds, "Victoria is so "good and kind to me that I am often at a loss "to believe that such affection (*Herzlichkeit*) "should be shown to me. I know the great "interest you take in my happiness, and there-"fore pour out my heart to you;" and he ends by saying, "More, or more seriously, I cannot "write to you; for that, at this moment, I "am too bewildered.

> "Das Auge sieht den Himmel offen,
> "Es schwimmt das Herz in Seligkeit."[1]

The Queen herself says that the Prince received her offer without any hesitation, and with the warmest demonstration of kindness and affection; and after a natural expression of her feeling of happiness, her Majesty adds, in the fervour and sincerity of her heart, with the straightforward simplicity that marks all the entries in her Journal: "How I will strive to "make him feel as little as possible the great "sacrifice he has made! I told him it was a "great sacrifice on his part, but he would not

1 Schiller's *Lied von der Glocke*, a poem of which the Prince was very fond, and knew mostly by heart.

"allow it. . . I then told him to fetch Ernest, "which he did, who congratulated us both, and "seemed very happy. . . . He told me how "perfect his brother was."[10]

The Queen thus announces what had occurred, the same day, to the King of the Belgians:

"*Windsor Castle, Oct.* 15, 1839.

"MY DEAREST UNCLE,—This letter will, I "am sure, give you pleasure, for you have "always shown and taken so warm an interest "in all that concerns me. My mind is quite "made up, and I told Albert this morning of it. "The warm affection he showed me on learning "this gave me great pleasure. He seems perfection, and I think that I have the prospect "of very great happiness before me. I love "him MORE than I can say, and shall do every-"thing in my power to render this sacrifice (for "such in my opinion it is) as small as I can. "He seems to have great tact, a very necessary "thing in his position. These last few days "have passed like a dream to me, and I am so "much bewildered by it all that I know hardly

[10] See the Queen's Journal, October 15, 1839; also Letter from Prince Ernest towards the end of next chapter, p. 260.

"here till the end of next month. Ernest's "sincere pleasure gives me great delight. He "does so adore dearest Albert.

"Ever, dearest Uncle,

"Your devoted Niece,

"V. R."

While this was passing at Windsor, the King of the Belgians was writing on the same day from Laeken:—

"*Oct.* 15, 1839.

"MY DEAREST VICTORIA,—I was greatly "pleased and interested by your dear letter "of the 12th, which reached me yesterday "evening. . . . The poor cousins had all sorts "of difficulties to encounter" (during the journey to England). "It was, however, a "good omen that once, when they were in "danger on the Scheldt, the 'Princess Victoria' "came from Antwerp to their assistance. To "appear in their travelling dress was a hard "case, and I am sure they were greatly em- "barrassed.

"I am sure you will like them the more, "the longer you see them. They are young "men of merit, and without that puppy-like "affectation which is so often found with young

"gentlemen of rank; and, though remarkably "well informed, they are very free from "pedantry.

"Albert is a very agreeable companion. "His manners are so gentle and harmonious "that one likes to have him near oneself. I "always found him so when I had him with me, "and I think [illegible] els have still improved "him. He i[illegible] ent and [illegible] ard draws [illegible]

"sion, almost the feeling of old Simeon: 'Now "'lettest thou thy servant depart in peace.' "Your choice has been for these last years "my conviction of what might and would be "*best for your happiness; and just because* I "was convinced of it, and knew how strangely "fate often changes what one tries to bring "about as being the best plan one could fix "upon—the maximum of a good arrangement, "—I feared that it would not happen.

"In your position, which may and will "perhaps become in future even more difficult "in a political point of view, you could not "EXIST without having a happy and agreeable "'intérieur.' And I am much deceived (which "I think I am not) or you will find in Albert just "the very qualities and disposition which are "indispensable for your happiness, and which "will suit your own character, temper, and mode "of life.

"You say most amiably that you consider "*it a sacrifice on the part of Albert. This is* "true in many points, because his position will "be a difficult one; but much, I may say *all*, "will depend on your affection for him. If YOU "*love* him, and are *kind* to him, he will easily "bear the bothers of his position, and there is a

"steadiness, and at the same time a cheerful-"ness in his character, which will facilitate this.

"I think your plans excellent. If Parlia-"ment had been called at an unusual time, it "would make them uncomfortable; and if, there-"fore, they receive the communication at the "opening of the Session, it will be best. The "marriage, as you say, might then follow as "closely as possible.

"LEOPOLD R."

On the 29th October the Queen again writes to the King, to inform him that the intention of communicating the intended marriage in the first instance to Parliament had been abandoned. "Before I proceed further," she says, "I wish just to mention one or two "alterations in the plan of announcing the "event. As Parliament has nothing whatever "to say respecting the marriage—can neither "approve or disapprove it (I mean in a manner "which might affect it)—it is now proposed that "as soon as my cousins are gone (which they "now intend to do on the 14th of November, as "time presses), I should assemble all the Privy "Council, and announce my intention to them."

Though the intention of waiting till the meeting of Parliament to announce the mar-

riage had been thus abandoned, it was still thought necessary to conceal it for some time, till the declaration could be made to the Council. "In the meantime the Queen and "Prince saw a great deal of each other, and "often discussed his future position—what his "title should be—whether or not he should "be a Peer (though to this both he and the "Queen objected). He was, however, naturally "to take precedence of every one else."[11]

The 2nd Battalion of the Rifle Brigade was at this time quartered at Windsor, under the command of Colonel, afterwards General Sir George Brown,[12] and on the 1st of November it was reviewed in the Home Park by the Queen, accompanied by Prince Albert, who appeared in the green uniform of the Coburg troops. The Hereditary Prince was unable to attend, having been for some days confined to the house by an attack of jaundice.

The following is the account of this review given by the Queen in her journal:—

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[11] Memorandum by the Queen.

[12] Sir G Brown died August 27, 1865. He was a fine specimen of a soldier of the last war, when the discipline and efficiency of the British army were at their highest pitch, and was much esteemed and regarded by the Prince.

acknowledgment of the Baron's reply to the announcement of his marriage:

"Dear Baron Stockmar,—A thousand "thousand thanks for your dear, kind letter. "I thought you would surely take much interest "in an event which is so important for me, and "which you yourself prepared.

"Your prophecy is fulfilled. The event "has come upon us by surprise, sooner than we "could have expected; and I now doubly "regret that I have lost the last summer, which "I might have employed in many useful pre-"parations, in deference to the wishes of "relations (*verwandtschaftliche Rücksichten*), and "to the opposition of those who influenced the "disposal of my life (*die auf die Eintheilung "meines Lebens wirkten*).

"I have laid to heart (*recht beherzigt*) "your friendly and kind-hearted (*wohlwollenden*) "advice as to the true foundation on which "my future happiness must rest, and it agrees "entirely with the principles of action which I "had already privately (*im Stillen*) framed for "myself. An individuality (*Persönlichkeit*), a "character, which shall win the respect, the "love, and the confidence of the Queen and of

"the nation, must be the groundwork of my "position. This individuality gives security for "the disposition which prompts the actions; and "even should mistakes (*Missgriffe*) occur, they "will be more easily pardoned on account of that "personal character: while even the most noble "and beautiful undertakings fail in procuring "support to a man who is not capable of "inspiring that confidence.

"If, therefore, I prove a 'noble' Prince "(*ein edler Fürst*) in the true sense of the "word, as you call upon me to be, wise and "prudent conduct will become easier to me, "and its results more rich in blessings (*segens-"reicher*).

"I will not let my courage fail. With firm "resolution and true zeal on my part, I cannot "fail to continue 'noble, manly, and princely' "(*edel, männlich, fürstlich*) in all things. In "what I may do good advice is the first thing "necessary; and that, you can give better than "any one, if you can only make up your mind "to sacrifice your time to me for the first year "of my existence here.

"I have still much to say to you, but must "conclude, as the courier cannot wait longer. I "hope, however, to discuss the subject more

"fully with you by word of mouth at Wiesbaden. "Hoping that I shall there find you well and "hearty, I remain

"Yours truly,
ALBERT."

"*Windsor, 1st Nov. 1839.*"

It was a remarkable feature in the Prince's character, that though no man was more capable of forming a sound and dispassionate judgment upon all things, or had a keener sense of what was right and fitting, no man, perhaps, was ever more ready to listen to and even court advice. When he tells the Baron that "good "advice is the first thing needful," he only expresses the rule on which he invariably acted. To listen patiently to all that could be said, and then to judge calmly for himself what it was right to do, and having convinced himself what was *right* (not what was merely *pleasant*) to do it without faltering, was his practice through life. It is perhaps characteristic of a weak mind always to fear being supposed to be guided by the advice or dictation of others.

On the 5th November the Prince alludes to the coming change in his position, in a few lines to his stepmother, so characteristic of his great and noble nature, that they must by no means

be omitted here; for they show, in simple unaffected language, his yearning for the power to do good, which may be said to have been the one great object of his life. As his first thought in writing to the Queen on the occasion of her accession to the Throne had been the influence this would give her over the "happiness of "millions,"[14] so now his mind was at once occupied by the thought of the power he would himself obtain, by his marriage, of "promoting "the good of so many."

"DEAR MAMA," he writes to his mother,—"With the exception of my relations towards "her" (the Queen), "my future position will "have its dark sides, and the sky will not "always be blue and unclouded. But life has "its thorns in every position, and the con-"sciousness of having used one's powers and "endeavours for an object so great as that of "promoting the good of so many, will surely "be sufficient to support me!"

But another letter had to be written before he left England, from which he shrank, with a natural disinclination to give pain. He had yet to announce his intended marriage to his grand-

[14] See letter, p. 147.

mother, and how would she bear to hear of an event that involved a separation from one whom she loved so dearly, and over whom, from his earliest infancy, she had watched so anxiously and tenderly? It had to be done, however, and on the 11th he nerved himself to write her the following touching letter:—

[15] "DEAR GRANDMAMA,—I tremble as I take "up my pen, for I cannot but fear that what I "am about to tell you will at the same time "raise a thought which cannot be otherwise "than painful to you, and oh! which is very "much so to me also, namely, that of parting. "The subject which has occupied us so much "of late is at last settled.

"The Queen sent for me alone to her room "a few days ago, and declared to me in a "genuine outburst of love and affection (*Ergusse* "*von Herzlichkeit und Liebe*), that I had gained "her whole heart, and would make her intensely "happy (*überglücklich*) if I would make her "the sacrifice of sharing her life with her, for she "said she looked on it as a sacrifice; the only "thing which troubled her was that she did not "think she was worthy of me. The joyous

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[15] See original letter in Appendix C. p. 422.

"openness of manner in which she told me this "quite enchanted me, and I was quite carried "away by it. She is really most good and "amiable, and I am quite sure heaven has "not given me into evil hands, and that we "shall be happy together.

"Since that moment Victoria does whatever "she fancies I should wish or like, and we talk "together a great deal about our future life, "which she promises me to make as happy as "possible. Oh, the future! does it not bring "with it the moment when I shall have to "take leave of my dear, dear home, and of "you!

"I cannot think of that without deep melan-"choly taking possession of me.

"It was on the 15th October that Victoria "made me this declaration, and I have hitherto "shrunk from telling you; but how does delay "make it better?

"The period of our marriage is already "close at hand. The Queen and the Ministers "wish exceedingly that it should take place "in the first days of February, in which I "acquiesced after hearing their reasons for it.

"We have therefore fixed our departure for "the 14th inst., so as to have still as much time

"as possible at home. We shall therefore follow "close upon this letter.

"My position here will be very pleasant, "inasmuch as I have refused all the offered "titles. I keep my own name, and remain "what I was. This will make me very inde-"pendent, and makes it easy for me to run over "occasionally (*einen Sprung nach der Heimath* "*zu machen*) to see all my dear relations.

"But it is very painful to know that there "will be the sea between us.

"I now take leave of you again. Victoria is "writing to you herself to tell you all she wishes.

"I ask you to give me your grandmotherly "blessing in this important and decisive step in "my life; it will be a talisman to me against all "the storms the future may have in store for me.

"Good-by, dear Grandmama, and do not "take your love from me.

"Heaven will make all things right.

"Always and ever

"Your devoted grandson,

"ALBERT.

"*Windsor, Nov.* 11, 1839.

"May I beg of you to keep the news a "secret till the end of the month, as it will "only then be made known here."

"openness of manner in which she told me this "quite enchanted me, and I was quite carried "away by it. She is really most good and "amiable, and I am quite sure heaven has "not given me into evil hands, and that we "shall be happy together.

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"We have therefore fixed our departure for "the 14th inst., so as to have still as much time

"chosen Albert. She could not have found a "more handsome, clever, and loveable husband. "But that we must lose him is very painful. May "God strengthen us for *all* that is before us."

In answer to that to himself, the Prince thus wrote to the Duchess on the 28th November, and the terms in which he alludes to the contents of her letter must make us lament still more that it is not to be found. The evidence we possess, in the letters already quoted, of the high sense of duty that animated the Duchess, of her devoted love to her family and her country, and of her unaffected piety, assures us that the letter written on this solemn occasion deserved to be characterized as the Prince characterizes it,—as containing exalted and noble ideas. The Prince writes, in answer, as follows:[16]—

"DEAR GRANDMAMA,—How very grateful I "am to you for your dear, gracious letter, which "I received yesterday. I had to read it over "several times in order to take in fully the "noble ideas which you therein express.

"Every word is a reflection of your excel- "lent heart! Certainly, dear Grandmama, my

[16] See Appendix C. p. 424.

The letter written by the Duchess to Prince Albert in acknowledgment of this communication is not forthcoming; but she wrote as follows to the Duke of Coburg:—

"*Gotha, Nov.* 24, 1839.

"Our dear Albert is to be torn from us! "May this separation, so sad for us, be for his "own happiness. God bless and preserve him! "His letter, which you sent me from Wies-"baden, brought me the news of his future "destiny. God be thanked that he feels pain-"fully the separation from us. He seems "also very happy. God keep him so! The "little Queen has written me a charming letter "indeed; in which she does not express herself "as Queen, but as a very happy bride, and "full of grateful feelings towards Albert that "he will share her fate. I am really touched "that she remembered me. I look upon it as "a proof of her love to Albert that she feels "kindly towards me because I am so fond of "him. It is only sad that our Albert must "leave so soon, and I know not yet how we "shall bear it.

"You do not doubt my sympathy with your "feelings, dear Duke. I find it, however, "quite natural that the Queen should have

the Belgians was then staying, who writes to the Queen on the 22nd November to announce their arrival.

"I have on purpose," he says, "kept back "a courier, to be able to send you the latest "news from here of Albert. The young people "arrived here only on the morning of the 20th, "having very kindly stopped at Bonn. I find "them looking well, particularly Albert. It "proves that happiness is an excellent remedy, "and keeps people in better health than any "other. He is much attached to you, and "modest when speaking of you. He is besides "in great spirits, full of gaiety and fun. He "is a very amiable companion."

On his return to Coburg from the visit which had thus determined the course of his future life, the Prince again opens his heart to his college friend:[17]—

"*Coburg, 6 Dec.* 1839

"DEAR LÖWENSTEIN,—Although I am quite "overwhelmed with a confusion of business and "work of all sorts, I must find a few minutes "in order to give you, my true friend, the news "of my happiness direct from myself.

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[17] See Appendix C. p. 425.

"Yes—I am now actually a bridegroom! "and about the 4th of February hope to see "myself united to her I love!

"You know how matters stood when I last "saw you here. After that the sky was "darkened more and more. The Queen "declared to my uncle of Belgium, that she "wished the affair to be considered as broken "off, and that for four years she could think "of no marriage. I went therefore with the "quiet but firm resolution to declare, on my "part, that I also, tired of the delay, withdrew "entirely from the affair. It was not, however, "thus ordained by Providence; for on the "second day after our arrival, the most friendly "demonstrations were directed towards me, "and two days later I was secretly called to a "private audience, in which the Queen offered "me her hand and heart. The strictest secrecy "was required. Ernest alone knew of it, "and it was only at our departure that I "could communicate my engagement to my "mother.

"I think I shall be *very* happy, for Victoria "possesses all the qualities which make a home "happy, and seems to be attached to me with "her whole heart.

"My future lot is high and brilliant, but also "plentifully strewed with thorns. Struggles will "not be wanting (*an Kämpfen wird es nicht* "*fehlen*), and the month of March already "appears to have storms in store.

"The separation from my native country— "from dear Coburg—from so many friends, is "very painful to me! When shall I see you "again, dear Löwenstein?

"Pray show no one this letter. I write "you these details, relying upon your silence, "for I know your friendship for me. Now "good-by, and think sometimes of your

"ALBERT."

A letter on the approaching marriage of the Queen and Prince, written in 1839, to the editor of one of the journals, by a gentleman of English birth, but brought up and educated in Germany, will fitly conclude this chapter. It will be seen that it was written after the public announcement of the intended marriage, and that the writer was well acquainted with the Prince, and with the whole course of his life up to that time. The letter shows a just appreciation of his character, and will be read with interest.

ON THE MARRIAGE OF THE PRINCE TO QUEEN VICTORIA.

At a moment when all eyes are turned towards the future husband of our Queen, and public attention is drawn to Prince Albert, it may be, perhaps, not uninteresting to the numerous readers of your far-famed journal, to peruse a brief sketch of this Prince.

It would be superfluous to revert to the period of his childhood, when only the germs of future hoped-for goodness and ability could be traced. Suffice it, therefore, to remark, that he, with his brother, the Hereditary Prince Ernest, received the most careful education under the superintendence of their tutor, now Geheimerath Florschütz, a man of high character and excellent principles. He accompanied the Princes to the University of Bonn, whither they were also attended by a Hanoverian officer of distinction and merit, to instruct them in military tactics. Here the Prince Albert occupied himself not only in the branches of a superior education, but studied in his leisure hours the ornamental sciences of botany, chemistry, mineralogy, conchology, and ornithology, &c., and, with his brother, laid the foundation of a cabinet of specimens in those various departments. Nor were the arts neglected amongst these various pursuits. Prince Albert has a talent for painting, and a love for and a proficiency in music, in which he composes; which will always secure to the respective artists a warm patron, capable of appreciating excellence and merit. His college themes on political economy and jurisprudence, &c., as well as on classical subjects, perused by one of the first German statesmen, are declared to be extraordinary for his age, and would not disgrace a man of far maturer years. They will secure him a high place amongst distinguished men. Although he has a predilec-

tion for field sports, engaging in them never causes him to forget the necessity of a close application to his present attainments and pursuit of further knowledge; and he therefore more rarely indulges in these amusements than he would otherwise do.

Graceful and handsome, yet he shows no vanity. A pattern for princes, his amiability renders him a model of domestic life. He is an object of the warmest attachment to all surrounding him. In his filial and fraternal duties he is not less admirable. The respectful attention and love towards the charming reigning Duchess, his mother-in-law,[18] is delightful to witness, as well as his devotedness to the excellent Dowager Duchess of Saxe Gotha, whom he designates and considers as his grandmother. It was for the first time that the Princes were separated last year, when the Hereditary Prince entered the Saxon service, and Prince Albert departed for his tour in Italy. Neither liked to be the one left. They therefore quitted Coburg, and separated without taking leave. Prince Albert is kind, affable, and gay; joining freely in the mirth of those about him; sensible to any committed absurdity, but showing in his laughter that it proceeds from a really good-humoured temper. To flattery and intrigue he is a decided enemy, whilst he possesses an extraordinary insight into character; looks well into all things; weighs and considers them in every point of view, and is able, by the aid of a powerful and strong mind, to form highly correct judgments. Many interesting anecdotes might be related of him which are not given for fear of offending the ear of the amiable Prince. It remains therefore only to be added, that every Englishman, be he Whig or Tory, must rejoice at the union of his Sovereign with a Prince so fully capable of filling the exalted station to which he is called.

[18] Stepmother.

CHAPTER XI.

1839.

DECLARATION OF THE MARRIAGE TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL—LIST OF PRIVY COUNCILLORS PRESENT—THE QUEEN'S JOURNAL—PROCEEDINGS AT COBURG AND GOTHA—LETTER FROM PRINCE ERNEST TO THE QUEEN—PRELIMINARY ARRANGEMENTS.

THE public declaration of the intended marriage had been necessarily delayed till it should have been officially communicated to the Privy Council; but on the 15th, the day after the departure of the Princes, the Queen mentions in the memorandum from which the account of her betrothal has been chiefly taken, that she wrote letters to the Queen Dowager and to the other members of the English Royal Family, announcing her intended marriage, and received kind answers from all.

On the 20th November the Queen, accompanied by the Duchess of Kent, came up from



Prince Albert

at the age of twenty

From a Miniature by Sir W. Ross. Engraved by W. Holl.

Windsor to Buckingham Palace, and on the same day Lord Melbourne brought, for her approval, a copy of the declaration which it was proposed to make to the Privy Council.

The Queen relates that she had much conversation with him at the same time on the various arrangements to be made, and the steps to be taken with regard to the marriage. £50,000 was the amount of annuity which it had been proposed to settle on the Prince, and in this Lord Melbourne said that the Cabinet (most erroneously as it turned out) anticipated no difficulty whatever, except perhaps in case of survivorship.

The Queen records in her journal that she observed, "she thought this would be very "unfair," and that Lord Melbourne expressed his entire concurrence with her, hoping, however, that the difficulty might not arise.

On the same occasion, Lord Melbourne told the Queen of a "stupid attempt to make it out "that the Prince was a Roman Catholic!" Absurd as such a report was, the Prince, as the Queen remarks in her journal, "being par- "ticularly Protestant in his opinions," Lord Melbourne told the Queen that he was afraid to say anything about the Prince's religion, and

that the subject would not therefore be alluded to in the proposed declaration.[1] It will be seen that this omission was afterwards severely commented upon in the House of Lords.

The Privy Council met on the 23rd, when upwards of eighty members assembled in the bow room on the ground-floor in Buckingham Palace. "Precisely at two" (the Queen records in her journal) "I went in. The room was full, "but I hardly knew who was there. Lord "Melbourne I saw looking kindly at me with "tears in his eyes, but he was not near me. "I then read my short declaration. I felt "my hands shook, but I did not make one "mistake. I felt most happy and thankful "when it was over. Lord Lansdowne then "rose, and, in the name of the Privy Council, "asked that 'this most gracious and most "'welcome communication might be printed.' "I then left the room—the whole thing not "lasting above two or three minutes. The Duke "of Cambridge came into the small library "where I was standing and wished me joy."[2]

The Queen always wore a bracelet with the Prince's picture, and "it seemed," she adds in

[1] Mem. by the Queen.

[2] The Queen's Journal, November 23, 1839.

her journal, "to give me courage at the Council." She returned the same evening, with the Duchess of Kent, to Windsor.

The declaration made by the Queen is thus recorded in the *Gazette*, Nov. 23rd, 1839:—

"I have caused you to be summoned at "the present time in order that I may acquaint "you with my resolution in a matter which "deeply concerns the welfare of my people and "the happiness of my future life.

"It is my intention to ally myself in mar-"riage with the Prince Albert of Saxe Coburg "and Gotha. Deeply impressed with the so-"lemnity of the engagement which I am about "to contract, I have not come to this decision "without mature consideration, nor without "feeling a strong assurance that, with the "blessing of Almighty God, it will at once "secure my domestic felicity, and serve the "interests of my country.

"I have thought fit to make this resolution "known to you at the earliest period, in order "that you may be apprised of a matter so "highly important to me and to my kingdom, "and which, I persuade myself, will be most "acceptable to all my loving subjects."

"Whereupon," it is stated in the Minutes of

nephews; its announcement was received with great rejoicing throughout the country, and congratulations flowed in from all sides. People not only indulged in the most loyal and heartfelt wishes for the happiness of their beloved Sovereign, they also hailed with satisfaction the prospect of a final separation between England and Hanover,—the union with which, no less than the Monarch who now occupied the Hanoverian throne (and who, failing the Queen, would have ascended that of England), was in the highest degree unpopular.

After the Prince returned to Germany, the Queen corresponded constantly with him, and says, in the memorandum already so largely quoted, "that the letters she then received from "the Prince are the greatest treasures now "in her possession. During this time," she adds, "precedents were searched for to see "what the Prince's household should consist of; "and, unfortunately, the one commonly referred "to was that of Prince George of Denmark, the "very stupid and insignificant husband of "Queen Anne. He was a Peer, and also for "some time Lord High Admiral of England, "but seems never to have played anything but "a very subordinate part." *

* Memorandum by the Queen.

She could be under no delusion on the bject,—she felt that the coming separation ıı her beloved Grandson, if not absolutely ˡ, must be complete and lasting. And ıt consideration of earthly grandeur or high ›sition could reconcile her to the thought? n a letter to the Duke of Coburg, written · the 12th December 1839, the Duchess gives the following affecting expression to her ..lings:—

"*Gotha, Dec.* 12, 1839.

"MY DEAR DUKE,—I received your letter of the 8th the day before yesterday, and thank you much for it. I was also pleased to hear from Wangenheim, who brought me, in your name, the programme of last Sunday's festivities, and also from Von Stein, that you ɪre very well and happy.

"I am very much upset. The brilliant ɜstiny awaiting our Albert cannot reconcile ɪe to the thought that his country will lose ·· for ever! and, for myself, I lose my · test happiness. But I think not of my- The few years I may yet have to live soon have passed away. May God pro- dear Albert, and keep him in the same ·ly frame of mind! I hope the Queen

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proof not only of an affection in the writer, rare from its entire and sincere unselfishness, but also of the marked development, even at this early age, of that high moral purpose, and that almost intuitive soundness of judgment, which were to be displayed in the after life of the Prince in so pre-eminent a degree :—

PRINCE ERNEST TO THE QUEEN.

"*Dresden, Dec.* 19, 1839.

"MY DEAR COUSIN,—Let me thank you "very sincerely for your kind answer to my "letter. You are always so good and so kind "to me that I really fear I have not thanked "you sufficiently.

"Oh! if you could only know the place "you and Albert occupy in my heart! Albert "is my second self, and my heart is one with "*his!* Independently of his being my brother, "I love and esteem him more than any one on "earth. You will smile, perhaps, at my speaking "of him to you in such glowing terms; but I "do so that you may feel still more how much "you have gained in him!

"As yet you are chiefly taken with his "manner, so youthfully innocent—his tran-"quillity—his clear and open mind. It is

"I shall be very glad when the excitement "of the first days is over and all is again quiet, "and when Papa shall have left England to "be a distant and unintruding spectator of your "new life! But how I shall then feel how much "I have lost! Time will, I trust, help me also. "Now—I feel very lonely!

"ERNEST."

In the meantime many preliminary arrangements had been discussed in England: The naturalization of the Prince—the formation of his household—the rank he was to hold—and the income which was to be settled upon him. Nor were these two last points arranged without considerable difficulty, and the occurrence of circumstances productive of much annoyance.

With respect to the precedence which should be given to the Prince, reference was made to the precedent of the marriage of Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg (afterwards King of the Belgians) with the Princess Charlotte. The Queen mentions, in the journal kept by her at the time, that Lord Melbourne showed her, on the 25th November, a copy of the clause inserted in the Bill for the Naturalization of

Prince Leopold, empowering the Prince Regent to give the Prince precedence over every one except the Princes of the blood. It was now proposed to adopt the same course with respect to Prince Albert, except that, from his different position as husband of the Queen, he should naturally take rank above those Princes. It was thought right, however, to endeavour in the first instance to obtain the consent of the Royal Family to this arrangement. After a slight demur on the part of the Duke of Sussex, who spoke in the first instance of the necessity of his considering "the rights and interests of "the family," and of "consulting others," both he and the Duke of Cambridge assented to what was proposed. The King of Hanover, however, still withheld his consent, and the Duke of Wellington, when the Naturalization Bill was before the House of Lords, objected to the clause by which it was proposed to give the Prince rank next to the Queen. As it was impossible to carry the clause against the Duke's opposition, it was necessarily abandoned, and it was only by the exercise of her own prerogative that the Queen could give to the Prince the precedence which was his due. Many years later, the expediency was discussed of

regulating, once for all, by Act of Parliament, the rank and position of a Prince Consort. But, though the leaders of both parties acquiesced in the propriety of such a measure, and though there can be no doubt that it would have only been in accordance with the English sense of what was right—which would have been outraged by seeing the father walk behind his own children—the then Government shrank from the opposition with which the proposal might possibly have been met: at all events they did not feel sufficient confidence in the result to encourage them to persevere in the attempt.

There was also a question as to the Prince's right to quarter the Queen's arms with his own. Garter King-at-Arms, whose special duty it is to make himself acquainted with such subjects, at first gave an opinion against it. It is hardly conceivable that he should have overlooked the very last precedent on the subject—that, namely, of Prince Leopold, who had quartered the Princess Charlotte's arms with his own. He did so, nevertheless; and it was left to the Prince himself to trace and show him the precedent which thus established his own right!

It is needless to follow in detail all the dis-

cussions that took place with respect to the formation of the Prince's household. Lord Melbourne wished that Baron Stockmar should come over with full instructions as to the wishes of the Prince and his father on the subject, so that everything should be settled before the meeting of Parliament; and he drew up a sketch, founded principally on the precedent of that of George IV. when Prince of Wales, of what he thought it should consist of, making at the same time several suggestions as to the persons to be appointed to it.[6]

The King of the Belgians wrote that he thought the best way would be, "to name "the most needful, 'd'un commun accord,' "*now*, and to wait till you can arrange these "matters, till you meet." "By letter," he adds, "and at such a distance, it was very "difficult to come to an understanding; while "a few moments' conversation may settle every "thing."

A letter from the Prince himself, on the manner in which his household should be formed, affords a rare proof of sound judgment at a very early age,—for he had only completed his twentieth year a few months before,—and

[6] The Queen's Journal written at the time.

shows a thorough appreciation of the position which it would become him to occupy in this country after his marriage. It will be seen how steadily and consistently he adhered, under many difficulties, both public and domestic, to the principles of action which he now laid down for himself.

He thus writes to the Queen on the 10th December 1839:—

". . . Now I come to a second point which "you touch upon in your letter, and which "I have also much at heart; I mean the choice "of the persons who are to belong to my house-"hold. The maxim, 'Tell me whom he asso-"ciates with, and I will tell you who he is,' "must here especially not be lost sight of. I "should wish particularly that the *selection* "should be made without regard to politics; for if "I am really to keep myself free from all parties, "my people must not belong exclusively to one "side. Above all, these appointments should "not be mere 'party rewards,' but they should "possess other recommendations besides those "of party. Let them be either of very high "rank, or very rich, or very clever, or persons "who have performed important services for "England. It is very necessary that they should

"be chosen from both sides—the same number "of Whigs as of Tories; and above all do I wish "that they should be well-educated men and "of high character, who, as I have already said, "shall have already distinguished themselves in "their several positions, whether it be in the "army, or navy, or in the scientific world. I "know you will agree in my views. . . ."

The Queen mentions that the applications for situations in the Prince's household were very numerous; nor, she adds, were the arrangements which were made altogether such as they should have been, and the Prince was a good deal annoyed on the subject.[7]

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[7] Memorandum by the Queen

CHAPTER XII.

1840.

PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT.

On the 16th January 1840, the Queen opened Parliament in person, and it being generally known that the proposed marriage would now be formally announced from the Throne, the crowds that assembled outside the Houses of Parliament, and that lined the route through which the Royal procession passed from the Palace, were great beyond all example. The reception of the Queen both going and returning was enthusiastic in the extreme, and the Queen herself records in her Journal that she was "more loudly cheered than she had been for "some time."

In the interior of the House every seat was,

as usual, filled with the noblest and fairest of the land; and a feeling of more than ordinary interest and sympathy must have thrilled the hearts of all present, when their youthful sovereign, only now in her twenty-first year, in her clear voice and distinct articulation, thus announced to the representatives of her people in Parliament assembled, her own intended marriage.

"Since you were last assembled, I have "declared my intention of allying myself in "marriage with the Prince Albert of Saxe "Coburg and Gotha. I humbly implore that "the divine blessing may prosper this union, "and render it conducive to the interests of "my people, as well as to my own domestic "happiness; and it will be to me a source of "the most lively satisfaction to find the resolu-"tion I have taken approved by my Parliament

"The constant proofs which I have received "of your attachment to my person and family "persuade me that you will enable me to "provide for such an establishment as may "appear suitable to the rank of the Prince and "the dignity of the Crown."

The Address in answer to the Speech was moved in the House of Lords by the Duke of

Somerset, and seconded by Lord Seaford. There was, on all sides, but one language of congratulation and of warm and cordial sympathy in the prospect of domestic happiness and public advantage which the intended marriage held out to the Queen and to the country; and in the House of Commons, where the feeling was equally unanimous, Sir Robert Peel, as leader of the Opposition, claimed for himself and for those with whom he acted, credit for joining cordially in the congratulations offered by the Address. "I do entirely enter," he proceeded, "into the "aspirations for the happiness of Her Majesty "in her approaching nuptials. Her Majesty "has been enabled to contract those nuptials "under circumstances peculiarly auspicious. "It frequently happens that political consider-"ations interfere with such transactions, and "that persons in exalted stations are obliged to "sacrifice their private feelings to the sense of "public duty. Her Majesty, however, has the "singular good fortune to be able to gratify her "private feelings while she performs her public "duty, and to obtain the best guarantee for "happiness by contracting an alliance founded "on affection. I cordially hope that the union

"now contemplated will contribute to Her "Majesty's happiness, and enable her to furnish "to her people an exalted example of connubial "felicity."[1]

But the omission to declare that Prince Albert was a Protestant, was found fault with in both houses, and the Duke of Wellington in the House of Lords, "Though entertaining," he said, "no doubt that the Prince was a "Protestant," though "he was sure he was "a Protestant," and "knew he was of a Pro-"testant family," attributed the omission to the fear on the part of the Government to irritate or indispose their Irish supporters. There was much anxiety, he said, on the subject, and he thought that if the House of Lords was "called "upon to do any act, or make any declaration "on the subject of the marriage, beyond the "mere congratulation of the Queen, they should "take that course which should give Her "Majesty's subjects the satisfaction of knowing "that Prince Albert was a Protestant; thus "showing the public," he added, "that this was "still a Protestant state."

The Duke consequently moved to insert

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[1] Hansard, vol. li. p. 115.

the word "Protestant," in the Address, before the word "Prince."

In answer, Lord Melbourne said truly, "The "Noble Duke knows he is a Protestant; all "England knows he is a Protestant; the whole "world knows he is a Protestant." And Lord Brougham, after expressing his astonishment that the House should have been occupied with the subject for half an hour, pointed out that the word was superfluous, as from the state of the law, it could not, in fact, be otherwise. "I may remark," Lord Brougham went on to say, "that my noble friend (Lord Melbourne) "was mistaken as to the law. There is no "prohibition as to marriage with a Catholic. "It is only attended with a penalty; and that "penalty is *merely the forfeiture of the crown!*"[2]

The Duke's amendment was, however, agreed to, and the fact of the Prince being a Protestant was recorded in the Address.

The King of the Belgians was strongly of opinion that it was injudicious to omit the statement that the Prince was a Protestant in the official declaration of the marriage made to the Privy Council; and had thus expressed himself

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[2] Hansard, vol. li. pp. 11 *et seqq.*

on the subject in a letter written to the Queen on the 6th December: "I regret that in your "declaration the word 'Protestant' was left out. "It could do no harm, and is even perfectly "true, and its omission will give rise to a "long and interminable growling. On religious "matters one cannot be too prudent, because "one never can foresee what passionate use "people will make of such a thing."

The Queen having explained the circumstances under which Lord Melbourne had omitted it, the King again wrote on the 14th December:—

"In the omission of the word 'Protestant,' "Lord Melbourne was probably right, and it "is equally probable that they would have "abused him, may be even more, if he had put "it in. There is only this to say, however, "the Ernestine branch of the Saxon family has "been, there is no doubt, the real cause of the "establishment of Protestantism in Germany, "and consequently in great part of Northern "Europe. This same line became a martyr to "that cause, and was deprived of nearly all its "possessions in consequence of it.[3] Recently

[3] In a former chapter it has been seen that the elder or Ernestine branch of the Saxon family lost their birthright,

"there have been two cases of Catholic marriages,[4] but the main branch has remained, and "is, in fact, very sincerely Protestant. Both "Ernest and Albert are most attached to it, "and when deviations took place, they were "connected more with the new branch transplanted out of the parent soil, than with what "now must be properly considered the reigning "family."

On the 27th January the House of Commons resolved itself into a committee to consider the proposal to grant an annual sum of 50,000*l.* to Prince Albert on his marriage with the Queen.

In answer to a question from Mr. Goulburn on the 22nd, Lord John Russell had explained that his proposal was founded, not upon any estimate of probable expenses, which would be contrary to all precedent, even if it were possible to form one, but upon what had been usual in "the case of Queen Consorts ever since

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which was transferred to the Albertine or younger branch, after the defeat of John the Magnanimous at Mühlberg by the Emperor Charles V.

[4] That of Prince Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg with the Princess Kohary (see p. 4), and the King of the Belgians' own marriage with Princess Louise d'Orléans, daughter of Louis Philippe, King of the French.

"the time of George II." He found that in the cases of Queen Caroline, Queen Charlotte, and Queen Adelaide, the sum granted for their privy purse had always been 50,000*l.* a year.[5]

This sum was opposed by Mr. Hume, on the usual grounds of economy, with all the often-repeated arguments respecting the severity of taxation, the distress of the country, &c. &c, which distinguished the party to which he belonged. But these arguments met with little response from the House, and the amendment he proposed, to reduce the sum to 21,000*l.*, was negatived by 305 to 38.[6]

Another amendment, however, proposed by Colonel Sibthorpe, to reduce the sum to 30,000*l.*, was supported by Sir Robert Peel, Mr. Goulburn, Sir James Graham, Lord Eliot (now Lord St. Germans), &c., on the ground that the position of the Prince differed essentially from that of a Queen Consort. "The "status of the latter," Sir James Graham said, "was recognized by the Constitution.[7] She

[5] Hansard, vol. li. pp. 494 *et seqq.*

[6] *Ibid.* p. 584.

[7] Did Sir James mean that a Queen Regnant was not to marry, or that, if she did, the "status" of her husband would *not* be "recognized by the Constitution?"

"had an independent station; she had independent officers; and from her sex it was "indispensably necessary that a large female "establishment should be maintained by her." From the small establishment that would be required by the Prince, and from the reductions in the household salaries that had lately been effected, it was argued that 30,000*l.* to him would make the joint privy purse of the Queen and the Prince equal to that of King William and Queen Adelaide.

On a division, the smaller sum was carried by a majority of 262 to 158.[8]

It is probable that the mortification which the refusal of the proposed vote was calculated to occasion to the Queen, might have been avoided by proper communications beforehand between Lord Melbourne and the leaders of the Opposition, such as in after years, under the guidance of the Prince himself, were frequently had recourse to when the question to be settled was one rather of a personal than a political character.

But party spirit at this time was running very high; the Queen says of herself that she was then actuated by strong feelings of partisan-

8 Hansard, vol. li. p. 633.

ship; and since *Sir Robert Peel's failure in* the preceding May to form a Government, which was attributed by his followers to the intrigues and influence of the ladies of the bedchamber, the language of the Opposition had been very violent. We may therefore well believe that, if on one side the opposition to the proposed vote may be traced, in part at least, to disappointed hopes of office, the unconciliatory course pursued on the other may have been influenced by the hope, not acknowledged perhaps to themselves, of indisposing the young Prince, on his first arrival, to their opponents, and of seeing the breach widened which already existed between them and the Queen.

It is certain that the inevitable consequence of pressing the vote to a division was perfectly well known. *Lord John Russell had* informed the Queen that the Opposition, as a body, meant to oppose it, and the Government whippers-in in the House of Commons had warned Lord Melbourne, that if he would avoid defeat, it would be necessary to reduce the amount of income to be proposed.[9]

The tone of the debate tended, unfortunately, rather to exasperate than to soften the

[9] The Queen's Journal written at the time.

expected opposition. Nothing indeed could be more respectful to the Queen than the language of those who opposed the vote; and Lord Eliot (now Lord St. Germans), who spoke first in support of Colonel Sibthorpe's amendment, was careful to express himself in terms of the most devoted loyalty and attachment to the Crown. Unfortunately, however, the language of the Opposition out of doors had been widely different, and it was too much in accordance with the spirit in which party warfare was then, and has often at other times been conducted, not to neglect the opportunity thus offered, of calling attention to the contrast between the language used in the House and that employed by the same party elsewhere.

"The Noble Lord," Lord John Russell said, "who stated that he would support the proposi-"tion for reducing the vote, made great profes-"sions of respect for Her Majesty, and of his "wishes for Her Majesty's domestic comfort. "I certainly am bound to give every credit to "the Noble Lord who made those professions; "and I wish that such conduct had not been "confined to him, or to the speeches of to-"night, but had been general among those who "maintain the same opinion with himself, and

"that it had not been reserved for the beginning "of the Session, but had been continued ever "since Parliament separated last year. . . . . "It appears to me that any Member of this "House may vote 30,000*l.* a year, or he may "vote 50,000*l.* a year, with the same respect for "Her Majesty. But when professions of extra-"ordinary respect are made, I cannot forget "that no Sovereign of this country has been "insulted in such a manner as her present "Majesty has been. The extraordinary pro-"fessions of respect that have been uttered "have made it necessary for me to say a word "on the subject."[10]

Lord Eliot having appealed to the House against an attack justified by nothing that had fallen from him, Sir James Graham rose: "he had almost said with feelings of indigna-"tion, that a Minister of the Crown should "make an insinuation—for the Noble Lord "dared not directly to make the charge—"that in the vote which they were about to "give for a smaller sum—that a Minister of the "Crown should insinuate that such a vote was "influenced by a want of respect for the Sove-"reign. The Noble Lord—for he had marked

[10] Hansard, vol. li. pp. 618-619

"him well—had measured his expressions. "He avoided stating that distinctly; but he "appealed to the Committee whether the in- "sinuation could be misunderstood. . . . . "He for one repudiated that insinuation. He "felt towards Her Majesty that respect which "as a loyal subject he owed to her; but, feeling "that respect, he also felt that he was sent "there as a representative of the people. . . . ." In conclusion, he repeated that "he had not "the slightest hesitation in voting with the "honourable and gallant Member for Lincoln, "even though he, and those who sat on the "same side of the House with him, might, in "doing so, be accused of a want of loyalty,"[11] &c. &c.

Sir Robert Peel also said, that though he would never shrink from giving his vote on this or any other occasion, yet "he did not "know that he should have risen to address the "House if it were not for the insinuation of "the Noble Lord—an insinuation introduced so "unnecessarily, so unjustly, and so contrary to "all parliamentary rules and principles—so un- "worthy, too, as he thought of the situation "which the Noble Lord occupied, both as a

11 Hansard, vol. li. pp. 619-622.

"Minister of the Crown, and as leader of the "House of Commons. What right had the "Noble Lord to make the insinuation that he "had done? Supposing that he had said that "the Noble Lord's motive in proposing 50,000*l.* "was owing to his base subserviency towards "the Crown . . . . he would have been told "at once by the Speaker that he had no right "to go on imputing motives. Thus he thought "it would be base and unworthy of him to be "influenced at all by the events of last May; "but he also said it would be as unworthy as "it would be cowardly in him to shrink from "the performance of his duty from the fear that "such a motive would be imputed to him. He "said it would be puling, effeminate delicacy "in him if he acquiesced in a vote which he "felt to be wrong, because he feared some "honourable gentleman opposite might have "said, 'You are acting from a spiteful recollec-"'tion of the events of last May.' . . . . I will "not," he concluded, "condescend to rebut the "charge of want of respect or loyalty. I have "no compunctions of conscience on that ground. "I never made a concurrence of political senti-"ment on the part of the Sovereign a condition "of my loyalty. I never have been otherwise

"than loyal and respectful towards my Sove-"reign. Not one breath of disloyalty—not one "word of disrespect towards the Crown or "any member of the Royal Family, however "adverse their political sentiments were to "mine, has ever escaped my lips; and when "performing what I believe to be my duty to "this House, and my duty towards the Crown, "I should think myself unworthy of the posi-"tion which I hold—of my station as a Member "of the House of Commons—if I thought that "I could not take a straightforward course "without needless professions of loyalty, or "without a defence against accusations which I "believe to be utterly unfounded."[12]

It is hard to deny that on both sides of the House a spirit was manifested which, on such an occasion, ought not to have existed. If, on the side of the Government, that tone of concilia-tion was wanting which might possibly have spared their Sovereign the mortification of what had the appearance of a personal defeat, it is equally certain that, on the other side, the oppo-sition to the proposed vote showed an ungene-rous spirit, and betrayed a want of confidence in the Prince that might well have perma-

[12] Hansard, vol. li. pp. 625 *et seqq.*

nently indisposed him towards those who conducted it.

The Prince, however, from the first, rose superior to anything like personal considerations, and his future relations with the Duke of Wellington, Sir Robert Peel, and other leaders of that party, when called by the turn of events to the Councils of the Queen, showed how little his conduct was influenced by what now passed.

It was not only, as I have said, that the Prince was at all times far above being influenced by personal considerations; but he obtained, in a wonderfully short time for a stranger, a clear insight into the nature of political parties in this country, and the mode in which their opposition to each other is conducted; and he soon understood that the opposition to the precedence, and to the income proposed for him by Government, did not proceed (at least in the leaders of the Conservative party) either from want of respect and goodwill towards himself, or of loyalty towards the Queen.

The Prince early understood, also, the position which it becomes the Sovereign of this great country to hold between conflicting poli-

tical parties, and the line of conduct which, as the Consort of that Sovereign, it was right for himself to observe. Although liberal in his political views, and thoroughly imbued with the progressive spirit of the age—though never losing sight of those great principles which he believed to be essential to the good of this country and of the world, nor ever relaxing in his efforts to promote them—he still held himself aloof from all the trammels of party, its jealousies and animosities, and resolutely abstained from even the appearance of political partisanship. And not only so, but the feelings of that nature by which the Queen so candidly admits that she was herself biassed at this time, soon ceased to show themselves under the influence of his judicious counsels; and all parties have long borne willing testimony to the cordial and constitutional support which, when charged with the administration of the Government, each party in turn received from the Queen, and from the Prince as her natural confidential adviser.

In the further Committee on the Grant, Colonel Sibthorpe, encouraged by his success in effecting a reduction in its amount, proposed an amendment to the effect that, in case the

Prince should survive the Queen, he should forfeit the annuity now settled upon him if he remarried a Roman Catholic, or should fail to reside at least six months in each year in the country. This, however, met with no support, and was summarily rejected: Sir Robert Peel declaring it to be most undesirable that such want of confidence should be shown in the Prince.

The King of the Belgians was very indignant at the refusal by the House of Commons of the vote proposed, and expressed himself very strongly on the subject in writing to the Queen. It seemed to him incomprehensible that the party which professed to 'uphold the dignity of the Crown should 'treat their Sovereign in such a manner," and that too upon an occasion "when even the '[illegible] the most poor and [illegible] people 'rejoice and grow gay and are [illegible] disposed!"

He thought too, that the Queen being Queen Regnant, 'Prince Albert's position was 'to all intents and purposes that of a Queen 'Consort; that the same privileges and charges 'ought to be attached to it which were attached 'to Queen Adelaide's [illegible] that the '[illegible] up the income [illegible]

"Dowager came into, was, in reality, giving "up a thing which custom had sanctioned."

While the Government, and, it must be added, the Queen, were sustaining this defeat in the House of Commons, the same want of management and of a conciliatory spirit was subjecting them in the House of Lords to another defeat on a subject on which the Queen was still more sensitive; that, namely, of the precedence to be given to her future husband.

This, too, was a subject on which previous communication between the leaders of Government and of the Opposition might have been advantageously resorted to, and all the annoyance that arose from the non-settlement of the question possibly avoided.

On the same day (the 27th January) on which the House of Commons went into committee on the Prince's Annuity Bill, the Lord Chancellor, in the House of Lords, moved the second reading of that for His Royal Highness's naturalization. In this Bill it was proposed to insert a clause, having for its objects to give Prince Albert precedence for his life, "next "after Her Majesty in Parliament or elsewhere, "as Her Majesty may think fit and proper," &c.[13]

[13] Hansard, vol. li. pp. 575-576.

Unfortunately, by an accidental omission, as stated by Lord Melbourne, no mention had been made in the title of the Bill of the subject of precedence; and the Duke of Wellington, therefore, on the ground that the House had no previous knowledge of the contents of the Bill, and also considering the very large powers which it proposed to confer on the Queen, moved the adjournment of the discussion. In this he was supported by Lord Brougham, who also objected to the mode in which it was sought to give the Prince the desired precedence. "In former Bills," he said, "the precise "precedence of the Prince was fixed. This "Bill at once naturalized Prince Albert and "enabled Her Majesty to give him any rank "she chose. He had a constitutional objection "to such a course. It ought to be taken by "Parliament, not by the Crown." He objected, too, to the proposed arrangement as giving the Prince precedence "not only of the Princes of "the Blood Royal, but of the Prince of Wales." "Suppose," he added, "which God forbid, "that the Queen had paid the debt of nature "before any issue of the approaching marriage "was born, we should have a [illegible]

[illegible]

"Prince of Wales, while Prince Albert would "be placed in the anomalous position of a "foreign naturalized Prince, the husband of a "deceased Queen, with a higher rank than the "Prince of Wales.[15]

Lord Melbourne and the Lord Chancellor admitted that the subject of precedence should have been mentioned in the title, and agreed to the postponement of the discussion. It was brought on again on the 31st, when the Lord Chancellor, with a view to meeting some of the objections urged by Lord Brougham, announced that it was now intended to fix the precedence which the Queen should be empowered to give the Prince, "next after any heir apparent to the "throne."

This, however, as he refused to add the words suggested by Lord Brougham, in order to limit the precedence thus given to the life-time of Her Majesty, does not appear to have removed the objections which had been taken to the measure. And though the Bill was read a second time with little further discussion (Lord Londonderry only speaking in defence of the interests of the King of Hanover), it was thought expedient when the House went into

15 Hansard, vol. li. p. 579.

Committee on the Bill on the 3rd Feb., to omit all reference to precedence, and to make the Bill what the Duke of Wellington had originally imagined it to be—one of simple naturalization.

Lord Brougham on this occasion pressed for information whether or not it was intended to effect the proposed object by the exercise of the Queen's prerogative; but Lord Melbourne declined to say, and the Bill passed in its new shape.

It cannot be wondered at if the Queen was, as she herself says,[16] most indignant at what had occurred, or that the first impression made on the young Prince's mind by the proceedings in both Houses should have been a painful one. But as has been already said, he soon understood the nature of our political parties, and that the proceedings in Parliament were only the result of high party feeling, and were by no means to be taken as marks of personal disrespect, or of want of kind feeling towards himself.

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[16] The Queen's Journal.

CHAPTER XIII.

1840.

DEPARTURE FROM GOTHA AND ARRIVAL IN ENGLAND.

On the 14th January 1840, Lord Torrington and Colonel (now General) Grey, left Buckingham Palace with three of the Queen's carriages for Gotha, whence they were to escort Prince Albert to England for his marriage. It had been now settled that this should be celebrated on the 10th February. They were also bearers of the Garter with which the Prince was to be invested before he left Gotha.

Arriving on the afternoon of the 20th, they were presented the same evening to the Duke, by whom and the young Princes they were most kindly received. Later in the evening they were presented to the Dowager Duchess, from whom so many letters have been quoted, at an evening-party at her own house. The next

morning, after breakfast in their own rooms, the English gentlemen were visited by the two young Princes, who remained with them about an hour, impressing them most favourably by the unaffected kindness and cordiality of their manner. Prince Albert was naturally very anxious to hear how the marriage was liked in England—looking forward as it seemed, with much pleasure, but, at the same time, not without some degree of nervousness, to the change which was about to take place in his position, and expressing a very natural sorrow at the impending separation from all his old associations. At four o'clock there was a great dinner, and in the evening a masked ball at the theatre, to which the Duke and Duchess, and all the Court, went a little after eight.

It had been arranged that the ceremony of investing Prince Albert with the Garter should take place on the 23rd. Accordingly at half-past three on that day the whole Court assembled, in full uniform in the Throne-room; the Duke on the throne, with Prince Albert on his right, supported by his brother, the Prince of Leiningen, &c. The Duchess, the Princess of Leiningen, the Princess of Reuss, &c. were in a box on one side of the room; the ladies of the Court in a similar

one opposite; while the back of the apartment was filled with as many people from the town as it would hold. The fine corridor leading to the Throne-room was lined with soldiers; and when every one had taken his place, Lord Torrington was ushered in by the Chamberlain and other officers of the Court, supported on one side by Colonel Grey, and on the other by Colonel Bentinck, of the Coldstream Guards (a chance visitor at Gotha at the time), bearing on white satin cushions the insignia of the Garter, with which the Duke, himself a Knight of the Order, was, by Letters Patent, authorized to invest his son. Lord Torrington having delivered and read the letters of which he was the bearer, they were again read in German—the Patent of Election was presented—and Prince Albert was then duly invested with the various insignia; Prince Leiningen, who was also a Knight of the Order, attaching the Garter.

The ceremony of investiture being concluded, the whole Court passed in procession before the Duke and Duchess, Prince Albert, &c.; after which there was a general adjournment to the Duchess's apartments. A grand dinner followed, to which 180 persons sat down, shortly before which Count Mensdorff, brother-

in-law to the Duke, arrived with his two sons The principal table, at which were all the Royal personages, and as many of the more distinguished guests as it would accommodate, ran across the top of the room; and at right angles to it, three other tables ran down the room, which were filled to crowding with the more general guests, the doorways, &c. being filled with as many spectators as could find standing room. Towards the end of the first course the Duke proposed the Queen's health, which was drunk by all the company standing, accompanied by several distinct flourishes of trumpets; the band playing "God Save the Queen," and the artillery outside firing a Royal salute. Shortly afterwards Lord Torrington, who, with the other English gentlemen, occupied seats at the principal table immediately opposite the Duke and Duchess, proposed the health of the Duke, of Prince Albert, the new-made Knight of the Garter, and the rest of the Ducal family, which was received in a similar manner. A third and last toast followed, given by the Duke—the rest of the Knights of the Garter—which was similarly received. This last toast might have been attended with serious consequences. In opening the window to give the

signal for the salute to the Artillery outside, th wind blew the thin muslin curtains into the flam of the candles, and in one instant they blazed u to the top of the room. Great alarm and con fusion ensued for a few moments, caused b people rising from their seats and crowdin towards the window. But fortunately the cur- tains were so light and thin, that they burnt ou almost instantaneously, without igniting th wood-work; and the ladies' dresses being, a became the season of the year, mostly of sil and velvet, no mischief followed and the alarn soon subsided. The dinner being ended, coffe followed in the Duchess's apartments, when the company separated for half an hour, again to assemble in order to go in state to the Opera. The theatre is extremely pretty, and being densely crowded and the audience all in full dress, the effect was very fine when the Royal party entered—every one standing up, and receiving Prince Albert with loud and long-con- tinued applause. The performance was the *Freyschütz* and very good, excepting a little imperfection in the scenery; the acting and singing really excellent. With the opera ended a most exciting and interesting, if a somewhat fatiguing day; but the hours kept are so much

better than those in England, that all was over between ten and eleven.[1]

M. Perthès, under whom the Prince had studied at Bonn, in one of his private letters (published in his Memoirs), thus notices the event which has just been recorded.—

"The winter months of this year have been "made interesting and exciting by the chapter "of history which has been enacted here. For "the Grand-Ducal Papa bound the Garter "round his boy's knee, amidst the roar of 101 "cannons. The earnestness and gravity with "which the Prince has obeyed this early call to "take an European position, give him dignity "and standing, in spite of his youth; and in-"crease the charm of his whole aspect. Queen "Victoria will find him the right sort of man; "and unless some unlucky fatality interpose, he is "sure to become the idol of the English nation— "silently to influence the English aristocracy— "and deeply to affect the destinies of Europe."

The day following the investiture was devoted to a grand "chasse aux chevreuils," much marred as a former "chasse aux lièvres" had been, by the severity of the weather. On

[1] The account of the proceedings at Gotha, and of the journey to England, is taken from a journal kept at the time.

stopped in passing the Dowager Duchess's, and Prince Albert got out with his father and brother to bid her a last adieu. It was a terrible trial to the poor Duchess, who was inconsolable for the loss of her beloved grandson. She came to the window as the carriages drove off, and threw her arms out, calling out "Albert, Albert," in tones that went to every one's heart, when she was carried away, almost in a fainting state, by her attendants!

Having passed in a long procession through the town, in the Duke's carriages, preceded by the carriages of M. Stein the Minister, and others, to the number of more than twenty, the Duke of Würtemberg, Count Mensdorff, &c. took a final leave at the "Last Shilling," and the Princes got into one of the Queen's travelling-carriages. The Duke, attended by Colonel Grey, went another German mile in his own open carriage to the frontier, where an arch of green fir-trees had been erected, and a number of young girls dressed in white, with roses and garlands, and a band of musicians and singers who sung a very pretty hymn, were assembled to bid a final "God speed," as he left his native land behind him, to the young Prince. It was a pretty sight, but bitterly cold. A hard frost

and the ground covered with snow, with a bitter north-east wind, were scarcely in keeping with white muslin gowns and wreaths of flowers! Here M. Stein the Minister, and others who had preceded the Royal party so far, took their leave, the Duke got into his travelling-carriage, and the journey to England was fairly begun.

The travelling-carriages, with the fourgons, were eight in number. First, the Duke's own travelling chariot, in which he was accompanied sometimes by one of his sons, sometimes by one of the English gentlemen, or of his own suite; then the three carriages of the Queen, followed by a couple of britzkas and the two fourgons. The Duke and Princes were attended, in addition to the three English gentlemen (Lord Torrington, Colonel Grey, and Mr. Seymour), by Counts Alvensleben, Kolowrath, Gruben, Pöllnitz, &c. &c., and formed altogether a party of twelve.

The travellers stopped at one o'clock at Birschhausen for luncheon, and arrived at Cassel, where they passed the night, a little before eight. The Duke and the two Princes, on their arrival, paid a visit to the Elector of Hesse, returning to the inn to dine.

The next morning, a little before nine, the

party left Cassel to go seventeen German miles to Arnsberg, where they only arrived as the clock was striking ten in the evening. The following night was passed at Deutz, the bridge not having been yet established for the year over the Rhine, which had to be crossed the next morning in boats, a tedious and a cold operation, made more disagreeable by the heavy rain that fell all the time. The party left Cologne about half-past nine, dined at Aix-la-Chapelle about three, and arrived at Liège, where they slept, about ten. At Aix-la-Chapelle the Prince heard the news of the rejection of the proposed grant of 50,000*l.*, which made a disagreeable impression upon him. It not unnaturally led him to express a fear that the people of England were not pleased with the marriage, an apprehension, however, which was speedily removed by the unqualified cordiality of the reception with which he was everywhere greeted from the first moment of his entry into this country. Late as it was when the Prince arrived at Liège, the whole city seemed on foot to do him honour. Before crossing the river to enter the city, the Governor, accompanied by all the military authorities, met him with an escort of Lancers. A guard of honour

was drawn up in the square opposite the hotel (the Pavillon Anglais), and a fine brass band continued playing under the windows till twelve o'clock. Nor was all quiet when they ceased. About one o'clock a large company of peasants took their place, and serenaded the Prince with vocal music till near two in the morning.

Before leaving Liège the next morning, the Duke received all the authorities, civil and military, who were severally introduced to the Prince. At ten, the carriages having been sent on, the whole party was conveyed, in one large omnibus, to the railroad terminus at Ans, where a special train had been provided, by which they were taken in four hours to Brussels, arriving in that city at three o'clock.

Here they remained, received and treated by the King with the greatest distinction, till Wednesday the 5th February. On that day, at half-past seven, the journey to England was resumed; by rail as far as Ostend, and thence posting along the coast by Dunkirk and Gravelines to Calais. At Dunkirk the Duke and Prince Albert had a narrow escape, in the Duke's carriage, of being driven into the ditch of the fortress. The pole of the carriage was broken and other damage done in consequence.

of which the Duke remained behind for an hour and a half while they were repairing it. At half-past eleven the two Princes arrived at Calais, where, notwithstanding the lateness of the hour, they found all the officers of the garrison waiting at the hotel to receive them, a guard of honour, &c. &c. The Duke did not arrive till half-past one. Lord Clarence Paget, who had been sent in the *Firebrand* to escort the Prince over, also met the party at the hotel.

The next morning, Thursday the 6th February, the weather was beautiful, with a light air from the N.W. Unfortunately the tide was too low to admit of sailing before half-past eleven; and in the meantime the day changed. A strong breeze freshened up from the S.E., and, before half the passage was made, had increased almost to a gale. The *Firebrand* not being able to get out so soon, the whole party had embarked in the *Ariel*, one of the Dover packets, commanded for the occasion by their well-known commander, Captain Hamilton. But the passage was long (five hours and a half); and the deck of the little steamer was a scene of almost universal misery and sea-sickness. The Duke had gone below, and on either side of the cabin staircase lay the

two Princes, in an almost helpless state. The sea got heavier as the vessel approached the land, and it was by no common effort, as every one who has felt the utter prostration attendant on sea-sickness will readily believe, that Prince Albert, who had continued to suffer up to the last moment, got up as it entered between the piers to bow to the people by which they were crowded. Five minutes later the tide would not have allowed the *Ariel* to enter the harbour. As it was she grazed the ground in going in.

The resolution and strength of will with which the Prince, on this occasion, shook himself free from the enervating effects of sea-sickness, were at all times distinguishing features in his character. So far from indulging, as most men do, in complaint and pity for himself under every petty ailment, he never gave way, when work was to be done, to feelings of fatigue or indisposition, and would struggle bravely even against severe illness. The most signal illustration, perhaps, of this noble quality was afforded by one of the latest acts of his life. On the 1st December 1861, when suffering under the extreme prostration of his last fatal illness, the Prince roused himself to write a memorandum for the Queen on the [illegible]

cation which the Government proposed to make to the United States on the affair of the *Trent*.[2] This memorandum was adopted by the Queen, and influencing, as it did, the tone of the Government communication, had a material effect in preventing a rupture between the two countries.

Nothing could exceed the enthusiasm of the reception which greeted the Prince when he set his foot on the English shore as the affianced husband of our Queen; and he must have been at once convinced that if the Houses of Parliament in their late votes had been actuated by any personal feelings against himself, or against the marriage, those feelings were not shared by the people of England.

The night was spent at Dover, at the York Hotel (it stood on the Esplanade but now no longer exists), and after a very poor attempt by most of the party at dinner, every one was glad to get to bed before nine o'clock.

It had been arranged that the Prince should not arrive at Buckingham Palace till Saturday the 8th; a short journey was therefore made the next day to Canterbury, the Prince having first

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[2] Except the commencement of a letter to Prince Leopold, which he could not continue after the first line, these were the last words written by the Prince.

Chancellor administered the oaths of naturalization to the Prince, and the day ended by a great dinner, attended by the officers of State, Lord Melbourne, &c.; the Queen recording in her journal, in warm terms, the great joy she felt at seeing the Prince again.[5]

On Sunday the 9th, service was performed by the Bishop of London in the bow-room on the ground-floor, and was attended by the Queen and Prince, &c.; and in the afternoon the latter drove out, through immense crowds assembled before the Palace, to pay his formal visits to the Royal Family. On this day the Queen mentions in her journal that the Prince gave her, as his wedding gift, a beautiful sapphire and diamond brooch, and that she gave him the star and badge of the Garter, and the Garter itself set in diamonds. There was again a great dinner in the evening.[6]

But amidst all the hurry and excitement of the journey, and the rejoicings and festivities to which the Prince's arrival in England gave occasion, the grandmother left behind at Gotha, and who had loved him so dearly from his earliest infancy, was not forgotten. The Duke had written to her from Brussels, to announce

[5] Memorandum by the Queen. [6] Ibid.

their safe arrival thus far, and she thus thanks him for his letter on the 8th February:—

"*Gotha, Feb.* 8, 1840.

"I have really been quite touched, my dear "Duke, by your kindness in writing to me from "Brussels. God be thanked that you arrived "safely, in spite of the unfavourable weather. "Here we had spring weather for the first "week since you went, but we have now more "rain. God grant that you may have had a "good passage, and that none of you three may "have suffered much. My fervent prayers and "best wishes have gone with you. I still feel "deeply the parting from my angel Albert! "You, dear Duke, know what he has been to "me. May he be as happy as he deserves, and "as all his true friends desire that he may be! "Though thorns are sure to come in his path, "may the roses only prove the more abundant!"

And the Prince himself, on the morning of his wedding-day, sent her these few touching lines:

"DEAR GRANDMAMA,—In less than three "hours I shall stand before the altar with my "dear bride! In these solemn moments I must "once more ask your blessing, which I am well "assured I shall receive, and which will be my

"safeguard and my future joy! I must end.
"God help me! Ever your faithful

"GRANDSON."

"*London, Feb.* 10, 1840."

The marriage had been fixed to take place at the Chapel Royal at one o'clock, and at half-past twelve the Queen left Buckingham Palace with her Mother and the Duchess of Sutherland in the carriage with her, for St. James's, wearing the sapphire brooch which the Prince had given her the day before.[1]

In the Appendix will be found a full description, as given in *The Times* of that day, of all the arrangements for the ceremony, and of the ceremony itself. To that account, which, allowing for such trifling mistakes as it was perhaps impossible to avoid, is generally correct, the reader who wishes to follow the events of this important day in minute detail, is referred. He will there find it stated how the several processions of the bride and of the bridegroom, and of the Royal personages and others invited to attend the wedding, were formed; how they went to the Chapel, and how they returned

[1] Memorandum by the Queen. See Appendix F. p 433, for the account given at the time in *The Times* newspaper of the ceremony.

from it; the only difference being, that the Queen came back with the chosen companion of her life—her husband—by her side; that it was her husband who handed her from the carriage at the Palace door; and that she walked up the grand staircase, in the presence of her Court, leaning on her husband's arm!

Then followed the wedding breakfast at the Palace, with a toast to the health of the Royal couple; and it is worthy of remark, considering the popular belief in the Queen's luck in weather, that the day which had been dark and dismal all the morning, with rain and fog, cleared up soon after the return of the bridal procession from the Chapel, and before the departure for Windsor the sun shone forth with all the splendour which distinguishes what is now proverbially called "Queen's weather."

A little before four the Queen and Prince took leave of the Duchess of Kent, and left Buckingham Palace for Windsor Castle. An immense crowd was gathered before the palace to see their departure, and the road was lined with people anxious to catch a glimpse of their sovereign and her chosen husband nearly the whole way to Windsor.

"Our reception," the Queen says in her

Journal, "was most enthusiastic, hearty, and "gratifying in every way; the people quite "deafening us with their cheers; horsemen and "gigs, &c. going along with us." At Eton the whole school had turned out to receive and welcome the Royal pair; and the boys in a body accompanied the carriage to the Castle, cheering and shouting as only schoolboys can. They swarmed up the mound as the carriage entered the quadrangle, and as the Queen and the Prince descended at the grand entrance, they made the old Castle ring again with their acclamations.

But the sovereigns of this country cannot enjoy on such an occasion the privacy which is the privilege and happiness of their subjects.

On the 12th the Duchess of Kent, with the Duke of Coburg and the Hereditary Prince, attended by the whole Court, followed to Windsor. There was dancing there that night and the next; and on the 14th the Court returned to London.[a] Addresses had now to be received from the Houses of Parliament and other bodies both by the Queen and Prince. State visits were paid to the theatres. On the 19th the Queen had a levée, at which the Prince,

[a] From the Queen's Journal.

who led her in, took the place on Her Majesty's left hand which he ever afterwards occupied. On the 25th (Sunday) the Queen and Prince attended service for the first time at the Chapel Royal, being much cheered as they drove there through the Park: and on the 28th the Duke of Coburg left England. This separation from his father was deeply felt by the Prince. "He "said to me," the Queen records in her Journal, "that I had never known a father, and could "not therefore feel what he did. His child-"hood had been very happy." "Ernest" (the Hereditary Prince remained for some time in England after his brother's marriage)—"Ernest, "he said, was now the only one remaining here "of all his earliest ties and recollections; but "that if I continued to love him as I did now, "I could make up for all. He never cried, "he said, in general, but Alvensleben and "Kolowrath" (they had accompanied the Duke to England, and now left with him) "had cried "so much that he was quite overcome. Oh, "how I did feel for my dearest, precious husband "at this moment! Father, brother, friends, "country—all has he left, and all for me. God "grant that I may be the happy person, the "*most* happy person, to make this dearest,

"blessed being happy and contented! What "is in my power to make him happy I will do."

How this prayer was answered will best appear as we trace the course of the Queen and Prince's married life in future volumes. In another chapter, which will conclude the present volume, an account will be given of the arrangements that were made immediately after the marriage for giving the Prince precedence next to the Queen, for the formation of his household, &c., as well as a general description of the mode of life now established in its well-regulated division of duties and amusements, from which there was no material deviation in after years.

The Queen was now married to the husband of her choice, amid the sincere and general rejoicings of her subjects. "It is that," Lord Melbourne said to the Queen, "which makes "your Majesty's marriage so popular, as they "know it is not for mere State reasons."[9] Heartfelt were the prayers offered up for the happiness of the Queen and Prince, and we can estimate but too well how completely those prayers were granted, writing as we do when all that happiness has passed away.

[9] From the Queen's Journal.

CHAPTER XIV.

1840.

FIRST YEAR OF MARRIAGE.

THE PRINCE'S POSITION—FORMATION OF HOUSEHOLD—SETTLEMENT OF PRECEDENCE—FREEDOM FROM PARTISANSHIP—GENERAL LIFE IN LONDON—AT WINDSOR, CLAREMONT, ETC.—LOVE FOR THE COUNTRY—ATTEMPT ON THE QUEEN'S LIFE—THE REGENCY BILL—BIRTH OF THE PRINCESS ROYAL.

THE Hereditary Prince remained in England with the Queen and his brother till the 8th of May, but with his departure the last tie that bound the Prince to his native land seemed to be severed. England was to be henceforth his home. He was to forget his own country and his father's house; or, if not forget—an impossibility to a heart like his—he was at least to act as though he did. Duty now required at his hands an unreserved dedication of him-

self—of his best energies and abilities—to the land of his adoption; and nobly and unshrinkingly was that duty performed. How great the sacrifice that he was thus called upon to make, few, at that time, could estimate. Many, even now, would admit with difficulty that it could be a sacrifice at all, to exchange the position of a younger son in a comparatively small German Dukedom, for that of the Consort of the Queen of England. But to any man of warm natural affections, the rending of home ties must, under any circumstances, and however brilliant the future before him, be a sacrifice, and it is now only, when we have had the privilege of reading the letters quoted in the preceding chapters of this memoir, making us acquainted with the intense love he bore to the home of his infancy, and with the feelings of affection and sympathy that bound him to his own family and the friends of his youth,[1] that we are able, in some degree, to judge of its nature and extent.

To feel that his beloved native land must no longer occupy the first place in his heart—at all events must be no longer the first object of

[1] See particularly the letters to the Dowager Duchess of Gotha and to Prince William of Löwenstein.

his thoughts—that, separated from all he had hitherto held most dear, new family ties were to be entered into—new friendships formed—new habits acquired—could a mind, constituted as was the Prince's, reflect upon all this without feeling that, splendid and important as might be the position he would henceforth fill, it was attained at no common sacrifice;—that, namely, of all his early ties and most cherished associations! It was a sacrifice, however, which, accepting it as he did in its fullest extent, was not only made supportable by the thought (to a noble nature like the Prince's, of all thoughts the most inspiriting,) of the good which it would enable him to do; but was more than compensated, by a degree of domestic happiness which the most devoted and confiding love on both sides is alone capable of affording.

We might well enlarge here on the self-denial and single-hearted devotion with which, from this time forward, the Prince applied himself to the discharge of the duties of his new position. But it is not necessary. These qualities will come out in ever bolder relief as this memoir advances. A strong proof, amongst others, of the spirit in which he entered upon

their performance will be found in the fact, that, loving his old home as he did, with an intensity of affection that has been rarely equalled, and certainly has never been surpassed, upwards of four years elapsed after his marriage before he paid a short and flying visit to the place of his birth.

It must be admitted, however, that, constantly, unostentatiously, and perseveringly as he now gave himself up to the discharge of his new duties, he was exposed, almost during the whole period of his life in this country, to much misconception and much misrepresentation. Not for that, however, did he for one moment relax in his efforts, or allow his zeal to flag, in seeking to promote all that was for the good of the British people. His actions might be misunderstood—his opinions might be misrepresented (of which there was more than one notable instance),* but, supported by his own conscious rectitude, he still pursued the even tenor of his way. Not a complaint—not a murmur—ever escaped his lips—not a single hasty expression did he ever indulge in, even towards those who were most unjust to him. He accepted such

* NOTE BY THE QUEEN.—Especially at the commencement of the Russian war.

injustice as the inevitable lot of one placed, as he was, in high station, trusting surely to the coming of the time when his motives and actions would be better understood, and better appreciated by his adopted country.

The principle on which he always acted was (to use his own noble words), "to sink his own "individual existence in that of his wife—to "aim at no power by himself, or for himself—to "shun all ostentation—to assume no separate "responsibility before the public"—but, making his position entirely a part of the Queen's, "continually and anxiously to watch every part "of the public business, in order to be able to "advise and assist her at any moment in any of "the multifarious and difficult questions brought "before her—sometimes political, or social, or "personal:—as the natural head of her family, "superintendent of her household, manager of "her private affairs; her sole confidential adviser "in politics, and only assistant in her communi-"cations with the officers of the Government."[3]

It was not, however, for some time, that the position, as described above, was established.

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[3] Letter to the Duke of Wellington, in answer to offer of command of the Army.—*Speeches, &c. of the Prince Consort*, p. 76.

For the first year or two the Prince was not, except on rare occasions, and by special invitation, present at the interviews of the Queen with her Ministers.* Though taking, the Queen says, "great pains to inform himself about every-"thing;" and though Lord Melbourne expressed much anxiety "that the Queen should "tell *him* and show *him* everything connected "with public affairs" . . . "he did not at this "time take much part in the transaction of "business."[5]

Nor were there wanting those who would gladly have kept him permanently estranged from it; and not only so, but who would have denied him, even in the domestic circle, that authority which, in private families, properly belongs to the husband, and without which, it may be added, there cannot be true comfort or happiness in domestic life. The Prince himself early saw the necessity of his asserting and claiming that authority. "In my home life," he writes to Prince Löwenstein, in May 1840, "I am very happy and contented; but the "difficulty in filling my place with the proper

* Note by the Queen.—But this was not from any objection on their part.

[5] Memorandum by the Queen.

"dignity is, that I am only the husband, not the "master in the house."

Fortunately, however, for the country, and still more fortunately for the happiness of the Royal couple themselves, things did not long remain in this condition. Thanks to the firmness, but at the same time gentleness with which the Prince insisted on filling his proper position as head of the family—thanks also to the clear judgment and right feeling of the Queen, as well as to her singularly honest and straightforward nature—but thanks, more than all, to the mutual love and perfect confidence which bound the Queen and Prince to each other, it was impossible to keep up any separation or difference of interests or duties between them. To those who would urge upon the Queen that, as Sovereign, she must be the head of the house and the family, as well as of the State, and that her husband was, after all, but one of her subjects, her Majesty would reply, that she had solemnly engaged at the altar to "obey" as well as to "love and honour;" and this sacred obligation she could consent neither to limit nor refine away.

From the first, too, the Queen, acting on the advice of Lord Melbourne, communicated

all foreign despatches to the Prince. In August 1840, he writes to his father :—"Victoria allows "me to take much part in Foreign Affairs, and "I think I have already done some good. I "always commit my views to paper, and then "communicate them to Lord Melbourne. He "seldom answers me, but I have often had the "satisfaction of seeing him act entirely in "accordance with what I have said."

And again in April 1841 —"All I can "say about my political position is, that I study "the politics of the day with great industry, "and resolutely hold myself aloof from all parties "(*fortfahre mich von allen Parteien frei zu* "*halten*). I take active interest in all national "institutions and associations. I speak quite "openly with the Ministers on all subjects, so "as to obtain information, and meet on all sides "with much kindness. . . . I endeavour quietly "to be of as much use to Victoria in her posi-"tion as I can."

Here we have the first announcement of that principle by which the whole of his future life was guided, and to which many years later he gave the noble expression already quoted, of "sinking his individual existence in that of the "Queen." Slowly but surely, acting on that prin-

ciple, did he establish his position; and so entirely was it recognized by the Queen herself, so unreservedly and confidingly did she throw herself upon her husband's support, relying in all questions of difficulty on his judgment, and acting in all things by his advice, that when suddenly bereaved of that support, her sense of the loss which she had sustained as Queen found expression in the pathetic words, "that it would "now be, in fact, the beginning of a new reign!"

The true nature of the Prince's position and the noble and self-sacrificing spirit in which he filled it, will become more apparent as we proceed.

But we must revert now to the events which followed immediately after the marriage, many of which occurred before the departure of his brother.

The first thing to be settled after the marriage was the formation of the Prince's household. It was arranged that it should consist of a groom of the stole, to which office Lord Robert Grosvenor (now Lord Ebury) was first appointed; of two lords in waiting, Lord Boringdon (the late Lord Morley) and Lord George Lennox; two equerries, ultimately increased to four, Colonels, now Lieut.-Generals

Bouverie and Wylde; two grooms in waiting, General Sir George Anson, and Captain, now Major-General Seymour; and a private secretary, Mr. Anson. The last-named appointment was not made without considerable demur on the part of the Prince, and was reluctantly acquiesced in by him. It was not so much that Mr. Anson was, as it were, imposed upon him, having been selected without his being consulted; but that having been long private secretary to Lord Melbourne, his appointment to so confidential a post about the Prince's person might seem inconsistent with that entire freedom from partisanship which his Royal Highness had already expressed his determination to preserve, and which he had insisted upon as the principle on which his household should be formed.[6] By his honest and straightforward conduct, however (which was very conspicuous, the Queen says, on the occasion of the change of Government in 1841) the natural accompaniment of a nature somewhat blunt and outspoken, but utterly incapable of intrigue, and by his entire devotion to the service and interests of his master, Mr. Anson soon won, and up to the hour of his sudden

[6] See letter to the Queen, chap. xi. p. 266.

and lamented death, enjoyed, as he deserved to enjoy, not only the confidence, but the friendship of the Prince.[7]

As regards the other appointments to the Prince's household, the same principle was established as was observed in that of the Queen herself, namely, that those appointments only should be permanent which were held by men entirely unconnected with politics, while those filled by Peers, or Members of the House of Commons, should change with the various changes of Ministry. This regulation, however, only affected the groom of the stole, and one of the lords in waiting. The greater number of those who were now named to the Prince's household remained in his service to the end. At first his Royal Highness had only two equerries, but as they were called upon to perform the same, and even more constant duties than those of the Queen, a third equerry (the late General, then Colonel Sir E. Bowater) was soon added; and in 1854 or 1855, the duties becoming still heavier, the number was increased to four.

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7 NOTE BY THE QUEEN.—The Prince was deeply affected when the news of Mr. Anson's sudden death arrived, and said to the Queen: "He was my only intimate "friend. We went through everything together since I "came here. He was almost like a brother to me."

It has been seen that the attempt to give the Prince precedence next to the Queen by Act of Parliament had failed, and Lord Brougham had, on that occasion, asked if it was intended to effect that object by the exercise of the Queen's prerogative, to which question Lord Melbourne at the time declined to reply. It was now determined, with the concurrence of the leaders of both parties, to adopt this course

Mr Charles Greville[8] wrote a pamphlet, which Lord Melbourne characterized as "clever and well done," to prove that the Queen had the power, if she chose to exercise it, of conferring whatever rank and precedence she pleased upon the Prince by Letters Patent,[9] and having submitted his views on the subject to the Duke of Wellington, the latter expressed his concurrence in them, and gave it as his opinion that the Queen might, by Letters Patent, "give the Prince rank immediately "next to herself everywhere, except in Parlia-"ment and at the Privy Council."[10]

The Lord Chancellor (the late Lord Cottenham) and Lord Lyndhurst, being consulted.

[8] Clerk of the Council. Died January 1865

[9] The Queen's Journal, written at the time [10] Ibid.

expressed similar opinions; and the Duke of Wellington, on learning this from Lord Lyndhurst, sent Mr. Greville to Lord Melbourne to say that he thought this step might now be taken.[11] Lord Melbourne lost no time in communicating these opinions to the Queen, but "Lord Melbourne and I," her Majesty adds, "said, why do this and say this now, when they "might so easily and so much better have "settled it by Parliament before!"[12] On the 5th March Letters Patent were issued, conferring upon the Prince the precedence next to the Queen, which he ever afterwards retained.

This was felt, however, not to be so satisfactory a way of effecting the desired object as if the Prince's rank had been definitively fixed by Act of Parliament; and many years later, to prevent the scandal which every right-thinking person must feel it would have been, of seeing the father following his own sons, or trusting only to their forbearance to take precedence of them, it was proposed to define at once the position of every Prince Consort by Act of Parliament, and to place him, during the lifetime of his wife, next to the Sovereign. From a strange misapprehension, however, of

[11] The Queen's Journal written at the time. [12] Ibid.

what would have been the feeling of Englishmen on such a subject, this intention was abandoned, and the Prince continued to hold his rank only in virtue of the Queen's Letters Patent. This subject has, however, been already sufficiently alluded to in a former chapter.

It has also been already stated that the Queen, up to the period of her marriage, had indulged strong feelings of political partisanship. Amongst the happy consequences of the marriage may be included the gradual extinction of any such feeling. The Prince had already shown, in the discussions and correspondence respecting the formation of his household, his own determination to stand clear from all political parties. Lord Melbourne now, most honourably to himself, supported the Prince in pressing the same course upon the Queen. He told the Prince that he thought the time was come when her Majesty "should have a general "amnesty for the Tories;" and on being spoken to by the Queen, to whom the Prince had reported what he had said, repeated that such was his opinion.[13] On another occasion, the Queen records that Lord Melbourne, speak-

[13] The Queen's Journal written at the time

ing of the Prince, "said, looking at him with "tears in his eyes: 'There is an amazing feel- "'ing for him—there is a very favourable "'impression of him—every one likes him,'" and then adds: "Then, speaking of the Tories, "against whom the Queen was very irate, Lord "Melbourne said: 'You should now hold out "'the olive branch a little.'"[14]

Levees, Drawing-rooms, Presentations, Addresses, great dinners, State visits to the theatres, &c. &c. followed the marriage in rapid succession. The first Levee was held on the 19th February, on which, as on all other similar occasions for the future, as well as at the opening of Parliament, or other State ceremonies, the Prince led the Queen in and stood on her left hand. On one occasion, the 7th March, the Prince received, and personally answered no less than twenty-seven addresses in one day.[15]

He was at first, the Queen says, a little nervous, when addresses were presented to him, to which he had to give answers, though not nearly so nervous, it seems, as many of those by whom the addresses were presented.

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14 The Queen's Journal written at the time.

15 Memorandum by the Queen.

Mr. Anson, who generally attended the Prince in these ceremonies, used to tell many ludicrous stories about them, but said that nothing could be better or more dignified than the way in which the Prince went through them.[16]

The Queen also gave many dinners, often followed by little dances; and they went frequently to the play, of which the Prince was always very fond. Amongst other plays which they went to see at this time, the Queen mentions six special performances which were got up at Covent Garden, then under the management of Madame Vestris and Mr. Charles Mathews, in which Charles Kemble reappeared in some of Shakspeare's principal characters.[17] The Prince thoroughly enjoyed and appreciated Shakspeare, and in later years took the greatest interest in the revival of his plays, under the management of Mr. Charles Kean at the Princess's. We may also mention here, in further proof of this, that some years later, when theatrical performances were got up at Windsor Castle, two if not three nights out of the six were devoted to Shakspeare.

But at first the change in his mode of life—

[16] Memorandum by the Queen. [17] Ibid.

at Windsor, she says: "We two dined together, "as Albert likes being quite alone before he "takes the Sacrament: we played part of "Mozart's Requiem, and then he read to me "out of the *Stunden der Andacht* (Hours of "Devotion) the article on *Selbsterkenntniss* "(Self-Knowledge)."[20]

On Easter Monday, April 20th, the Prince met with a serious, and what might well have been a fatal accident, at the thought of which one still shudders, occurring, too, as it would have done, before the very eyes of the Queen. The stag-hounds were to meet at Ascot, and it had been arranged that the Prince should go out with them, the Queen following to the Heath later in a pony-carriage with his brother the Hereditary Prince. Before he set out, the Prince went to the Q[illegible] d said, jok[illegible]

"I hope we shall m[illegible] [21] On the Castle, attended [illegible] Bouv[illegible] Mr. Seymour, his equ[illegible] om-in- and by Mr. William [illegible] om-in- to the Queen, H.R. [illegible] mount[illegible] "a handsome but ve[illegible] oroug[illegible] "horse,[22] called 'To[illegible] ntere[illegible]

[20] The Queen's Journal [illegible] n at th[illegible]

[21] Ibid.

the window at which the Queen was standing, when the horse, taking the bit between his teeth, suddenly ran away at the top of his speed, and the Prince, after turning him several times in a vain endeavour to stop him,[23] was at last knocked off by a tree against which he brushed in passing, and fell, most providentially, considering the pace at which he was going, without being seriously hurt. "Albert's horse," the Queen relates in her journal written at the time, describing what she saw, "seemed to go "very fast and jumped very much. He turned "him round several times,[24] and then I saw "him run away violently through the trees and "disappear. I ran anxiously to Albert's room "in hopes of seeing something, but could not. "Mr. Cowper rode back, and I heard him "say Albert was not hurt. Almost imme-"diately afterwards I saw dearest Albert ride "out of the gate. I sent for Ernest, and he told "me Albert had had a fall, but was not hurt!"

When the Queen arrived at Ascot, "Albert," the journal continues, "received me on the ter-

[23] The Home Park where this happened was not then, as it is now, divided by wire fences.

[24] NOTE BY THE QUEEN.—The horse, which was afterwards mounted by one of the grooms, ran away three times in the course of the ride to Ascot!

"race of the large stand, and led me up. He "looked very pale, and said he had been much "alarmed lest I should have been frightened by "his accident. . . . . He told me he scraped "the skin off his poor arm, had bruised his hip "and knee, and his coat was torn and dirty. "It was a frightful fall, and might (I shudder "to think of the danger my dearest, precious, "inestimable husband was in) have been nearly "fatal! (How naturally the Queen shrinks from admitting, even to herself, the whole extent of the danger escaped.) "The horse ran away "from the *very* door, Albert said. He turned "him round and round, lost his stirrup, and "then he dashed through the trees, and threw "Albert violently against a tree, the last near "the wall, the force of which brought him to the "ground. He scraped his arm and wrenched "his hand by holding it up to prevent the tree "coming against his side. Oh! how thankful "I felt that it was no worse! His anxiety was "all for me, not for himself."[25]

The Queen had never yet been separated from her mother, and since her first arrival in England the Duchess of Kent had never lived by herself. It was now thought expe-

25 The Queen's Journal.

them that the Duchess should have a house of her own, and accordingly, in 1840, her Royal Highness removed to Ingestre House, Belgrave Square, which continued to be her home till, on the death of Princess Augusta, she moved to Clarence House, St. James's Palace, which she occupied when in London for the rest of her life. "In" "she was very much affected," the Queen says, "as it is the first time she has lived away from me since she has been in this country." At the same time, Frogmore, which had become vacant by the death of Princess Augusta, was likewise made over to the Duchess; and although she took up her residence there, she continued to drive almost daily with the Queen, and came to her constantly to luncheon.[26]

The Prince's love of music has been already mentioned. In March he was named one of the directors of Ancient Music, the directors taking it in turns to direct the concerts which were held in the Hanover Square Rooms. The Prince's first concert was fixed for the 29th of April, and he took the greatest pains about it, selecting the music to be performed, himself and attending, with the Queen, a rehearsal of

[26] Memorandum by the Queen

it on the 27th. On these occasions it was customary to give a great dinner to the other directors, after which the Queen and Royal Family proceeded to the Hanover Square Rooms, where the concert was held, in dress carriages. The Queen was at this time taking lessons in singing from Signor Lablache,[27] and the Prince often joined in them, and at other times used constantly to play and sing with the Queen. At Buckingham Palace they used often to play on the organ together in the Prince's drawing-room. The organ at Windsor in the music-room, since converted into a private chapel, was too large for the Queen, but the Prince occasionally played on it by himself.[28]

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27 NOTE BY THE QUEEN.—He had given the Queen singing lessons since the year 1836, and was not only one of the finest bass singers, and one of the best actors, both in comedy and tragedy, that we have seen, but a remarkably clever, gentleman-like man, full of anecdote and knowledge, and most kind and warm-hearted. He was very tall, and immensely large, but had a remarkably fine head and countenance. He used to be called "Le Gros de Naples." The Prince and Queen had a sincere regard for him. He died in 1858. His father was a Frenchman and his mother an Irishwoman, and he was born at Naples.

28 Memorandum by the Queen.

On the 9th of May the Hereditary Prince left England, and it has been already noticed how much the Prince felt his departure. Before he went, the Queen relates that the "two brothers sang a very pretty song to-"gether called 'Abschied,' which the students "generally sing before they part. Albert was "much affected, and when I ran upstairs he "looked as pale as a sheet and his eyes full "of tears. . . . After a little while he said, "'Such things are hard to bear (*Solche Sachen* "*sind hart*),' which indeed they are."[19]

On the 23rd May the Queen and Prince went to Claremont to keep Her Majesty's birth-day (24th) in private. It continued to be the custom thus to keep the real day, some other day being fixed for its public observance. In later years, after the purchase of Osborne, it was usually kept there, but, excepting in '46, it was always spent at Claremont till the year '48, when that place was given as a residence to the exiled royal family of France. The Queen was very fond of Claremont, having, she says, "spent "many happy days there in her childhood." "The time spent there," she adds, "was always "a very happy one; the Prince and Queen being

[19] The Queen's Journal written at the time.

"able to take charming walks in the pretty "grounds and neighbourhood.[30] How grateful it must have been to the Prince, disliking as he did the dirt and smoke, and still more the late hours, of London, to get away to the freshness and privacy of the beautiful walks of Claremont, and of the charming country round it! His love of the country and of beautiful scenery has been already mentioned; and the Queen records of herself that she now began to share his tastes. In her journal of the following January she says: "I told Albert "that formerly I was too happy to go to "London and wretched to leave it, and how, "since the blessed hour of my marriage, and "still more since the summer, I dislike and am "unhappy to leave the country and could be "content and happy never to go to town. This "pleased him. The solid pleasures of a peace-"ful, quiet, yet merry life in the country, with "my inestimable husband and friend, my all in "all, are far more durable than the amusements "of London, though we don't despise or dislike "these sometimes." [31]

Where is the Englishman, if it be indeed

30 Memorandum by the Queen.

31 The Queen's Journal written at the time.

true that England is the land where the happiness and comfort of domestic and country life is best understood and appreciated, who will not sympathize with the feeling thus forcibly expressed by the Queen!

As years went on, indeed, this preference for the country on the part of the Queen grew stronger and stronger, till residence in London became positively distasteful to her,[32] and was only made endurable by having her beloved husband at her side, to share with her and support her in the irksome duties of Court receptions and State ceremonials.

The Prince himself, though never losing the smallest particle of that intense enjoyment of the country which used to burst forth, as Colonel Seymour relates,[33] in such expressions as, "Now I am free; now I can breathe," yet sacrificing, as he was ever ready to do, his own inclinations to his sense of duty, was always anxious that the Queen should spend as much time as she could in London. He felt this to be desirable for the convenience of communica-

[32] NOTE BY THE QUEEN.—It was also injurious to her health, as she suffered much from the extreme weight and thickness of the atmosphere, which gave her the headache.

[33] See chap. IX. p. 195.

tion with Ministers, but perhaps still more from a conviction of the influence for good which the presence of a Court, so looked up to and respected as was that of England under the Queen and himself, could not fail to exercise far and wide—far indeed beyond the circle of its immediate neighbourhood.

How great a sacrifice this was to him, let the following letters show: "We came here "the day before yesterday," he writes to the Duchess of Coburg, on the 17th of April, "to "spend a week at stately (*herrlichen*) Wind-"sor, and I feel as if in Paradise in this fine "fresh air, instead of the dense smoke (*in dem* "*dicken Kohlendampf*) of London. The thick "heavy atmosphere there quite weighs one "down (*kann einen ganz nieder beugen*). The "town is also so large, that without a long ride "or walk, you have no chance of getting out of "it. Besides this, wherever I show myself "I am still followed by hundreds of people."

Again on the 2nd June, from Claremont:—

"You are happily established in the lovely "Rosenau, though only for a short time. To "me it would be difficult to tear myself from "that beautiful place, to which my thoughts "still often fondly turn; and particularly so

"to-day, when we are again come to spend a "day at Claremont."

The day before this last letter was written the Prince had presided at a meeting to promote the abolition of the slave trade, which must be noticed here, because, though he only said a few words, they form the first of that remarkable series of public utterances which has been collected and published under the title of the *Principal Speeches and Addresses of H. R. H. the Prince Consort.* "He was very "nervous," the Queen says, "before he went, "and had repeated his speech to her in the "morning by heart."[34] In the following letter the Prince gives his own account of his speech, and also mentions a visit he and the Queen had made from Claremont to Epsom races, the only time, her Majesty adds, that she was ever there except as a child:—

To the Duke of Coburg.[35]

"*Buckingham Palace, June* 4, 1840.

"We came back yesterday from Claremont, "where we have again passed two days. We "went there this time in order to be able to

[34] Memorandum by the Queen.

[35] For original of letter, see Appendix C. p. 426.

"go from the neighbourhood to the celebrated "Epsom races, which were certainly very "interesting. The numbers of people there "were estimated at from one to two hundred "thousand. We were received with the "greatest enthusiasm and cordiality. I rode "about a little in the crowd, but was almost "crushed by the rush of people.

"I had to go to the Anti-Slave-Trade "Meeting, and my speech was received with "great applause, and seems to have produced "a good effect in the country. This rewards "me sufficiently for the fear and nervousness "I had to conquer before I began my speech. "I composed it myself, and then learnt it by "heart, for it is always difficult to have to "speak in a foreign language before five or "six thousand eager listeners.[36]

"The Park near the Palace[37] of which you "speak, is really very pleasant, and I have "enlivened it with all sorts of animals and rare "aquatic birds." The Queen mentions that in their morning walks in the Palace garden, it was

36 For the speech, see *Speeches and Addresses of the Prince Consort*, p. 81.

37 Buckingham Palace garden, which is certainly more like a park than a garden.

a great amusement to the Prince to watch and feed these birds.[33]

On the 10th of June, as the Queen and Prince were setting out on their usual afternoon drive, a man named Oxford made his well-known attempt on her Majesty's life, by firing at her as the carriage was going slowly up Constitution Hill. Full details of the attempt, as well as of the trial and conviction of the man, are given in the *Annual Register* for this year. Oxford himself never denied his guilt, indeed he persisted, in spite of all remonstrances, in pleading guilty; but the extraordinary plea was urged in his favour—extraordinary it would have been in the case of any one, but still more extraordinary when the life attempted was that of the Sovereign,—that as no bullet was found, the pistols might not have been loaded with ball! Strange to say too, this plea was so far allowed by the bench, that it was left as a point which the jury were to decide; yet it is evident that, standing, as the man was, on a lower level than the carriage, and, necessarily giving his pistol an

[33] NOTE BY THE QUEEN.—He taught them to come when he whistled to them from a bridge connecting a small island with the rest of the garden.

upward direction, the ball, with its tendency to rise on first leaving the pistol, must almost certainly have passed over the garden wall, and what chance could there then be of finding it? The Prince himself gives the following account of this event:—

TO THE DOWAGER DUCHESS OF GOTHA,[39] ETC.

"*Buckingham Palace, June* 11, 1840.

"DEAR GRANDMAMA,—I hasten to give you "an account of an event which might otherwise "be misrepresented to you, which endangered "my life and that of Victoria, but from which "we escaped under the protection of the watch-"ful hand of Providence. We drove out "yesterday afternoon, about six o'clock, to pay "Aunt Kent a visit, and to take a turn round "Hyde Park. We drove in a small phaeton. "I sat on the right, Victoria on the left. We "had hardly proceeded a hundred yards from "the palace, when I noticed, on the footpath on "my side, a little mean-looking man[40] holding "something towards us; and before I could

39 See Appendix C. p. 426.

40 Lord Melbourne described him to the Queen as "an "impudent, horrid little vermin of a man."—*The Queen's Journal.*

"distinguish what it was, a shot was fired, "which almost stunned us both, it was so loud, "and fired barely six paces from us. Victoria "had just turned to the left to look at a horse, "and could not therefore understand why her "ears were ringing, as from its being so very "near she could hardly distinguish that it "proceeded from a shot having been fired. "The horses started and the carriage stopped. "I seized Victoria's hands, and asked if the "fright had not shaken her, but she laughed "at the thing.

"I then looked again at the man, who was "still standing in the same place, his arms "crossed, and a pistol in each hand. His "attitude was so affected and theatrical it quite "amused me. Suddenly he again pointed his "pistol and fired a second time. This time "Victoria also saw the shot, and stooped "quickly, drawn down by me. The ball must "have passed just above her head, to judge "from the place where it was found sticking "in an opposite wall.[1] The many people who "stood round us and the man, and were at

[1] It appears from the trial, that the ball was not found. There was a mark in the wall which some believed and others denied to have been made by it.

"first petrified with fright on seeing what "happened, now rushed upon him. I called "to the postilion to go on, and we arrived "safely at Aunt Kent's. From thence we "took a short drive through the Park, partly to "give Victoria a little air, partly also to show "the public that we had not, on account of "what had happened, lost all confidence in "them.

"To-day I am very tired and knocked up "by the quantity of visitors, the questions, and "descriptions I have had to give. You must "therefore excuse my ending now, only "thanking you for your letter which I have "just received, but have not yet been able "to read.

"My chief anxiety was lest the fright should "have been injurious to Victoria in her present "state, but she is quite well, as I am myself. "I thank Almighty God for his protection.

"Your faithful grandson,

"ALBERT.

"The name of the culprit is Edward "Oxford. He is seventeen years old, a waiter "in a low inn—not mad—but quite quiet and "composed."

The feeling shown throughout the country

on this occasion was intense. Wherever the Queen and Prince showed themselves in public, for many days after the occurrence, they were enthusiastically cheered; and when they went to the opera for the first time, after it, "the "moment they entered the box," the Queen relates, "the whole house rose and cheered, "waved hats and handkerchiefs, and went on "so for some time. 'God Save the Queen' "was sung, ... and Albert was called for "separately and much cheered."[42]

Oxford persisted, Lord Melbourne told the Queen, in having no counsel; and on being pressed by a lawyer of his acquaintance to have one, he said: "The fact is, I am guilty, and "I shall plead guilty."[43] Full details of the trial and its result will be found in the *Annual Register* for 1840.

We need not follow in detail the numerous Court and fashionable gaieties which the Queen enumerates in her journal as having been shared in by herself and the Prince in

[42] The Queen's Journal.

[43] "Lord Melbourne, who of course came after the "occurrence to see the Queen, and was much affected, said "Oxford had asked if I was hurt, and on being answered "that, Thank God, I was not, stretched out both his arms, "as if to say he was very sorry!"—*Queen's Journal.*

this the first year of their marriage. It is more pleasing to turn to the account she gives of their ordinary mode of life. It will be seen that those late hours in the morning, of which the Queen speaks with such regret, were gradually improved under the influence of the Prince—an influence which was further evident in the judicious and well-regulated division of the hours and occupations of the day, which the Queen describes as follows:—"At this time "the Prince and Queen seem to have spent "their day much as follows: They breakfasted "at nine, and took a walk every morning soon "afterwards. Then came the usual amount of "business (far less heavy, however, than now); "besides which they drew and etched ... at "deal together, whi... as a source "amusement. havi... tes '*bit*'

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"house. Luncheon followed at the usual hour "of two o'clock. Lord Melbourne, who was "generally staying in the house, came to the "Queen in the afternoon, and between five and "six the Prince usually drove her out in a "pony phaeton. If the Prince did not drive "the Queen, he rode, in which case she took a "drive with the Duchess of Kent or the ladies. "The Prince also read aloud most days to the "Queen. The dinner was at eight o'clock, and "always with the company. In the evening "the Prince frequently played at double chess, "a game of which he was very fond, and which "he played extremely well."[45]

At first "the Queen tried to get rid of the "bad custom, prevailing only in this country, "of the gentlemen remaining, after the ladies "had left, in the dining-room. But Lord Mel-"bourne advised against it, and the Prince "himself thought it better not to make any "change."[46] The hours, however, were never

confidence by the beloved Prince and the Queen, to both of whom she is most devotedly attached. She retired from the Queen's service in July 1862, having informed the Prince in the summer of 1861, that this was her intention, as she was anxious to pass the remainder of her life with her only sister. She frequently visits the Queen.

[45] Memorandum by the Queen. [46] Ibid.

late of an evening, and it was very seldom that the party had not broken up by eleven o'clock. Comparatively early, too, as the breakfast-hour now was, the Prince had often, particularly in later years as work got heavier, done much business before it;—written letters or prepared the drafts of memoranda on the many important subjects in which he took an interest, or which had to be considered by the Queen.

The Prince was also at this time "much "taken up with painting"—an occupation of which he was very fond, but for which, in after years, he had no time—"and began a picture "of the death of Posa, from Schiller's *Don* "*Carlos*, making first a small sketch for it, "which he did beautifully."[47]

At the beginning of July it was thought expedient to provide for the possible case of the Queen's dying and leaving an heir to the throne, and the question of a Regency was therefore considered. Lord Melbourne having consulted the Duke of Wellington, and through him Sir R. Peel and the leaders of the Conservative party, it was unanimously agreed that the Prince was the proper, and, indeed, only

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47 Memorandum by the Queen.

"Commons. There has been much trouble "to carry the matter through (*die Sache* "*durchzufechten*), for all sorts of intrigues "were at work, and had not Stockmar gained "the Opposition for Ministers, it might well "have ended as did the 50,000*l.* There was "not a word of opposition in the House of "Lords, except from the Duke of Sussex."

In the same letter the Prince says, speaking of Lord Melbourne: "He is a very good, "upright man, and supports me in everything "that is right." The Prince does not add, which would have been the truth, that it would have been impossible for him to ask or wish for support, except in what *was* right.

And again: "The Tories are very friendly "to me, as I am also to them."

On the 2nd August the Prince again writes: "The Regency Bill has passed safely "through all its stages, and is now conclu-"sively settled (*steht unerschütterlich fest*). . . "It is very gratifying that not a single voice "was raised in opposition in either House, or "in any one of the newspapers."

And this was the more gratifying, as Lord Melbourne told the Queen it was owing entirely to the golden opinions the Prince had won on

all sides since his arrival in the country. "Three "months ago," Lord Melbourne said to the Queen, "they would not have done it for him;" adding, with tears in his eyes, "It is entirely his "own character."[50]

And well did the Prince deserve that it should be so. From the moment of his establishment in the English palace, as the husband of the Queen, his first object was to maintain, and, if possible, even raise the character of the Court. With this view he knew that it was not enough that his own conduct should be in truth free from reproach; no shadow of a shade of suspicion should, by possibility, attach to it. *He knew* that, *in* his position, every action would be scanned—not always possibly in a friendly spirit; that his goings out and his comings in would be watched, and that in every society, however little *disposed* to be censorious, there would always be found some, prone, were an opening afforded, to exaggerate and even to invent stories against him, and to put an uncharitable construction on the most innocent acts.

He, therefore, from the first laid down strict, not to say severe rules, for his own guid-

[50] The Queen's Journal.

ance. He imposed a degree of restraint and self-denial upon his own movements, which could not but have been irksome, had he not been sustained by a sense of the advantage which the throne would derive from it. He denied himself the pleasure—which to one so fond as he was of personally watching and inspecting every inprovement that was in progress, would have been very great—of walking at will about the town. Wherever he went, whether in a carriage or on horseback, he was accompanied by his equerry. He paid no visits in general society. His visits were to the studio of the artist, to museums of art or science, to institutions for good and benevolent purposes. Wherever a visit from him, or his presence, could tend to advance the real good of the people, there his horses might be seen waiting; never at the door of mere fashion. Scandal itself could take no liberty with his name. He loved to ride through all the districts of London where building and improvements were in progress, more especially when they were such as would conduce to the health or recreation of the working classes; and few if any, knew so well, or took such interest as he did, in all that was being done, at any

distance east, west, north, or south of the great city—from Victoria Park to Battersea—from the Regent's Park to the Crystal Palace, and far beyond. "He would frequently return," the Queen says, "to luncheon at a great pace, "and would always come through the Queen's "dressing-room, where she generally was at that "time, with that bright loving smile with which "he ever greeted her; telling her where he "had been—what new buildings he had seen—"what studios, &c. he had visited. Riding for "mere riding's sake he disliked, and said: 'Es "ennuyirt mich so. (It bores me so.)'"

There were some, undoubtedly, who would gladly have seen his conduct the reverse of all this, with whom he would have been more popular had he shared habitually and indiscriminately in the gaieties of the fashionable world,—had he been a regular attendant at the race-course;—had he, in short, imitated the free lives, and even, it must be said, the vices of former generations of the Royal Family. But the country generally knew how to estimate and admire the beauty of domestic life, beyond reproach, or the possibility of reproach, of which the Queen and he set so noble an example. It is this which has been the glory and the strength

of the throne in our day, and which has won for the English Court the love and veneration of the British people, and the respect of the world. Above all, he has set an example for his children, from which they may be sure they can never deviate without falling in public estimation, and running the risk of undoing the work which he has been so instrumental in accomplishing.

On the 11th of August the Queen prorogued Parliament in person, the Prince accompanying her for the first time, and thus mentioning the subject in a letter to his father: "The prorogation of Parliament passed off very "quietly (*ging ganz ruhig vorüber*). I went "with Victoria, and sat in the House in an "arm-chair placed next to the throne."

It appears that some difficulty had been expected on the part of the Duke of Sussex[51] as to the place the Prince should occupy on this occasion; and it is to this the Prince alludes when he says everything went off quietly. "I "told you it was quite right," the Duke of

51 NOTE BY THE QUEEN.—Not only the Duke of Sussex: there were other people, who shall be nameless, who pretended that he could not drive with the Queen in the State carriage, or sit next to her in the House of Lords.

Wellington said to the Queen a few days later at Windsor. "Let the Queen put the Prince "where she likes, and settle it herself—that is "the best way."[52]

The next day the Court left London, to the great joy of the Prince. "We leave town," he had written to his father on the 2nd, "on the "14th, and take up our residence at Windsor, "at which I rejoice greatly. If you come here "again I hope to be able to give you some "tolerable shooting. I am now forming also a "pretty little stud of all the Arab horses which "Victoria has received as presents.

"The new stables and the riding-school "will be magnificent. That long green space "below the Terrace where the old trees stand, "not under, but on the top of the hill, is to be "laid out in pleasure-grounds, with plants, &c., "and I shall occupy myself much with it. It "gave me much trouble to get this settled, as it "did before to save the existence of the fishing "temple and George IV.'s Cottage, which "were to have been taken away. These are "now safe."

And one who remembers what the Home Park at Windsor was at the time of the Queen's

[52] The Queen's Journal.

others, too, the Queen Dowager, who was always most kind and affectionate to the Queen and Prince,[58] spent a few days at Windsor, and the Prince also received a visit, which gave him much pleasure, from the three Princes of Hohenlohe Schillingfürst, who had been fellow-students with him at Bonn.

To study and make himself thoroughly acquainted with the institutions of the land of his adoption was a task to which the Prince resolutely applied himself, from the moment of his first establishment in England. And the summer of 1840 was scarcely over before he had begun regular readings in the English laws and constitution with Mr. Selwyn, a highly distinguished barrister, at that time treasurer of Lincoln's Inn.[59]—"The lessons with Mr. "Selwyn," he writes to Baron Stockmar on the 12th September, "have begun, and cannot fail "to be of use. He is a highly educated and

[58] Memorandum by the Queen.

[59] Mr. Selwyn published, in 1806, the first part of the valuable work "*Selwyn's Nisi Prius*," which has run through thirteen editions, and has been a sort of lawyer's manual for nearly half a century. The 10th edition was published in 1840, and was dedicated by him,—

"*Alberto Principi, legum Angliæ studioso.*"

Mr. Selwyn died in 1855.

"learned man, and, in particular, a good classical "scholar, and has a clear and agreeable mode "of teaching. The only fault I have yet to "find with him, is a want of method. He is "preparing himself now for the Magna Charta, "while I and Prætorius[60] are working out a "sort of programme of studies, in order to lay "it before him. Should he not approve of it, "this will force him to make another."

"Mr. Selwyn," his son[61] relates, "always "spoke in the highest terms of his Royal "Highness's quick intelligence and diligent "attention, and of his readiness in seizing the "points of resemblance between English and "German jurisprudence.

"And he often related the following anec-"dote, as one among the many proofs of the "Prince's kindness of heart:—

"Two days after the birth of the Princess "Royal, Mr. Selwyn came, according to ap-"pointment, and the Prince said, 'I fear I "'cannot read any law to-day, there are so "'many constantly coming to congratulate, "'but you will like to see the little Princess;'

60 Librarian and German Secretary to the Prince when he first came over.

61 Dr. Selwyn, one of the Queen's chaplains.

"and finding that her Royal Highness was "asleep, he took Mr. Selwyn into the nursery, "and taking the little hand of the infant he "said, 'The next time we read, it must be on "'the rights and duties of a Princess Royal.'"

On the 11th September the Prince was made a member of the Privy Council. "Yester-"day," he writes to Baron Stockmar in the letter above quoted, "I was introduced into the Privy "Council. Lords Melbourne, John Russell, "Clarendon, Holland, and Minto, were present. "The thing in itself is an empty form (*eine leere* "*Form*), but from a distance it appears very "grand."[62]

Princess Augusta was very ill all this time at Clarence House, and suffered terribly. On the 22nd September she died. The Prince visited her more than once during her illness, and, after her death, accompanied the Queen on the 1st October to Claremont, in order to be out of the way at the time of the funeral, which the Prince did not attend, on account of the Queen's health.[63]

[62] NOTE BY THE QUEEN.—By this the Prince meant that no political or other discussion took place there as was formerly the custom.

[63] Memorandum by the Queen.

On their return to Windsor the Queen records that she and the Prince read Hallam's *Constitutional History* together.

She also mentions that the Prince, who had been lately appointed to the Colonelcy of the 11th Hussars, used occasionally to go out in the Park with a squadron of the 1st Life Guards, then commanded by Colonel Cavendish, in order to become acquainted with the English system of drill and the words of command.

The mode of life at Windsor did not differ materially from that observed elsewhere, except that on three, and occasionally four days in the week, at this season, there was shooting from eleven to two. In the afternoon there were drives, as in London; and in the evening, dinners and occasional dances.

On the 13th November the Court returned to Buckingham Palace, where on the 21st, the Princess Royal was born. The Prince, writing to his father on the 23rd, says: "Victoria is as "well as if nothing had happened. She sleeps "well, has a good appetite, and is extremely "quiet and cheerful. The little one is very "well and very merry. . . . I should certainly "have liked it better if she had been a son, as "would Victoria also; but at the same time we

"must be equally satisfied and thankful as it "is. . . . The rejoicing in the public is "universal."

"For a moment only," the Queen says, "was he disappointed at its being a daughter "and not a son." His first care was for the safety of the Queen,[64] and "we cannot be "thankful enough to God," he writes to the Duchess of Gotha on the 24th, "that every-"thing has passed so very prosperously."

"During the time the Queen was laid up "his care and devotion," the Queen records, "were quite beyond expression."

He refused to go to the play or anywhere else, generally dining alone with the Duchess of Kent, till the Queen was able to join them, and was always at hand to do any thing in his power for her comfort. He was content to sit by her in a darkened room, to read to her, or write for her. "No one but "himself ever lifted her from her bed to her "sofa, and he always helped to wheel her on her "bed or sofa into the next room. For this pur-"pose he would come instantly when sent for "from any part of the house. As years went

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[64] Memorandum by the Queen.

"on and he became overwhelmed with work" (for his attentions were the same in all the Queen's subsequent confinements), "this was "often done at much inconvenience to himself; "but he ever came with a sweet smile on his "face. In short," the Queen adds, "his care of "her was like that of a mother, nor could there "be a kinder, wiser, or more judicious nurse."[65]

During the Queen's illness the Prince also saw the Ministers, and transacted all necessary business for her.

When the Queen was well enough to move, the Court returned to Windsor, where Christmas was passed in the manner ever afterwards observed. It was the favourite festival of the Prince—a day, he thought, for the interchange of presents, as marks of mutual affection and good-will. Christmas-trees were set up in the Queen and Prince's rooms, a custom which was continued in future years, when they were also set up in another room for the young Princes and Princesses, and in the oak-room for the household. The ladies and gentlemen in waiting were summoned to the corridor on Christmas-eve. The Queen and Prince, accompanied by

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[65] Memorandum by the Queen.

the Royal Family, pointed out the presents intended for each, inviting them afterwards to go through the different rooms to see what they themselves had mutually given and received.

The Princess Royal's christening took place on the 10th Feb. 1841, the first anniversary of the Queen's happy marriage; but the account of this, as well as the other events of that year, must be reserved for another volume.

APPENDICES.

APPENDIX A.

REMINISCENCES OF THE KING OF THE BELGIANS.

In the preceding chapters little has been said of the Prince's family. The wish has been to confine this memoir to what more immediately concerned the Prince himself; and therefore, beyond the slight allusion to them in the opening chapter, no mention has been made of any members of the family except those—his father, grandmothers, and brother—with whom his own early life was naturally identified.

Yet his immediate ancestors for two, if not three generations, had been so mixed up with the stirring events which marked the close of the last and the opening of the present century, that some notice of them from one who has himself borne a prominent part in the European history of these latter times will not be out of place here. The Prince's great-grand-uncle, the Field-Marshal Prince Friedrich of Saxe-Coburg, had commanded with distinction and success in the Netherlands at the commencement of the French Revolutionary War; his father commanded a corps towards its close; while his uncle Leopold, after greatly distinguishing himself in the latter campaigns against Napoleon,

has for the last four-and-thirty years, as King of Belgium, earned for himself, by the consummate ability and prudence with which he has passed through times of the greatest difficulty and danger, the character of the most sagacious as well as the most enlightened Sovereign of Europe.[1]

In 1862, with a view to this memoir, the Queen applied to the King for some account of his recollections of the Prince and of his family; and his Majesty, responding to that appeal, has related his reminiscences in the following letters. Though they extend back to times long anterior to the Prince's birth, and this memoir has, therefore, properly no concern with them, yet they will be read with interest; and no apology is made for giving them almost at full length:—

"My recollections," the King writes, "go as far back as "the Urgrossvater, Herzog Franz Josias. He was very "much looked up to. A tall, powerful man. He had "lost an eye at tennis, formerly much played on the Con- "tinent. His wife was a Princess of Schwarzburg Sonders- "hausen. I am, however, not quite certain about it. These "people I, of course, never saw. The children of this Duke "Franz Josias were: Ernest Friedrich, who became the "reigning Duke—Prince Christian, who served in the Austrian "army, but retired and lived at Coburg, where he died—and "Prince Friedrich Josias, who entered the Austrian army "rather young, and served in the Seven Years' War. He "was shot through the hand during that war when he was "Colonel of the Anspach Cuirassiers. He was liked and "protected by the Empress Maria Theresa, and important "commands were confided to him. He made himself a "great name during the Turkish campaign. The Emperor "Joseph, who commanded in person a strong army in the

[1] It will be seen that this was written while the King was still alive.

"direction of Servia, failed completely, and lost also great "part of his army by sickness. Prince Friedrich commanded "a comparatively small army of some 20,000 men in "Moldavia and Wallachia, when he was joined by a small "Russian force under Suwaroff. They beat the Grand Vizier, "and conquered both Principalities. For this very brilliant "campaign he was made a Field-Marshal, and got the "Grand Cordon of Maria Theresa.

"At this time the French attacked the Netherlands, "where Duke Albert of Saxe Teschen[2] (the Prince's god-"father) commanded, Heaven knows, very indifferently, and "lost, with the battle of Jemappes, the whole of the Nether-"lands. Prince Friedrich was now sent there, and gained "one of the most important battles of modern history—that "of Neerwinden, near Tirlemont. Poor King Louis "Philippe commanded a division there under Dumouriez. "This battle forced the French to evacuate the Nether-"lands, and disorganized them so much that, after the "junction of the English and Dutch auxiliaries, the Allies "might have marched to Paris, as was done after Waterloo. "Unfortunately the English Government took it into its "head to try to conquer Dunkirk, an object of very "secondary importance. The Duke of York, never success-"ful in war, was beaten by General Houchard. This dis-"composed matters a good deal. The Prince Friedrich "was for peace, seeing the difficulties of the position; but "the Austrian Minister, Count Mercy d'Argenteau, opposed "this rather wise idea. Things got worse, and Prince "Friedrich, declining the responsibility, retired to Coburg. "A Colonel Witzleben wrote recently, at my expense, a life "of the Field-Marshal, which must be in your library.

[2] He was married to the Archduchess Maria Christina, daughter of the Empress Maria Theresa, and built the Palace of Laeken when Governor of the Netherlands. The line of Saxe Teschen is extinct.

"There was a fourth brother. I cannot recollect his name "now. He served in the Saxon army, and was killed, very "young, in the Seven Years' War. He seems to have been "romantic. There existed somewhere an inscription by "him: 'tout par amour, rien par force.' For some time "one could not learn what had become of him, as he was "not recognized on the field of battle. There were two "sisters; the Margravine of Anspach, very handsome, but "not very happy with her flighty husband, having no child; "and the Duchess of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, mother of all "the generations of Schwerin. She lived long and much "beloved. Duke Ernest Friedrich was a good-natured, "easy, and well-meaning man, who must have been good-"looking in his younger years. He married a Princess of "Braunschweig Wolfenbüttel, who, in a great monarchy, "would most certainly have played a great part, perhaps "not of the mildest, like her sister Queen Ulrique of Den-"mark.[3] She ruled everything at Coburg, and treated that "little duchy as if it had been an empire. She was very "generous, and in that respect did much harm, as she "squandered the revenues in a dreadful manner. The "Duke stood very much in awe of his imperious wife. I "dare not say anything against her, having been her great "favourite. The Duke died in 1800, and she in 1801. "The children were our dear and benevolent father, Prince "Ludwig, and Princess Caroline.

"In our family," the King says in another letter, "a "prominent character was my grandmother. She was of "the old Brunswick stock, sister of Duke Ferdinand and "of the Queen Ulrique of Denmark, and of the mother of "Frederic William the Second. Her niece was the dis-"tinguished Duchess of Weimar, some years regent for her

[3] A third sister was married to Frederic the Great.

"manage the Duchy matters. He certainly effected great "improvements; but he also caused much trouble and "agitation—not forgetting his own interests—one conse-"quence of which was, to produce a quarrel between the "Duke and his uncle the Field-Marshal, as well as with his "brother Louis, both of whom for some time refused to "attend the Court. All this was a source of much vexation "to the Duke—the kindest and most benevolent of men—"and for some years seriously affected his health."

About this time the King's eldest brother Ernest (the father of our Prince) went to Berlin, and there formed a lasting friendship with Frederic William III. and his Queen. It was also in the course of the same year (1803?) that the next brother Ferdinand, "who had already for some years "held honorary rank in the Austrian service, joined some-"what unwillingly Rosenberg's regiment of light horse."

Of his sisters the King says, that in 1795 the Empress Catherine, "being anxious for the marriage of the Grand "Duke Constantine, procured through M. de Budberg, dis-"tinguished both as a minister and a general, a visit from "the three Princesses of Saxe-Coburg, who were all un-"doubtedly very handsome. The Grand Duke fancied most "Julie, the youngest of the three, very pretty, but still a "mere child, being only fifteen years of age." "How "strangely," the King proceeds, "do things often come to "pass! If the Grand Duke's choice had fallen on Antoinette "(the second sister), she would have suited that position "wonderfully well. I know much of all this from Constan-"tine himself. He told me that the Empress Mother, look-"ing to the two younger sons, did not wish the 'ménages' "of the two elder brothers to succeed. He himself was "dreadfully 'taquin;' and, 'comme surcroît de malheur,' "the then Grand Duke Alexander and his wife were aunt "Julie's great friends, and supported her in the little domestic

"squabbles. Without the shocking hypocrisy of the Empress "Mother, things might have gone on. The Grand Duke "admired his wife extremely; and with an amiable husband, "generous-hearted as she was, she would have been an "excellent wife. She felt unhappy, and ended, without a "formal separation, by leaving Russia in 1801. He always "wished for a reconciliation, and went with me in January "1814 to Elfenau near Berne, but she could not bring "herself to consent to this reconciliation. The consequence "was, finally, a divorce much approved of by the Empress-"mother."

The Grand Duchess, however, felt painfully, the King adds, the neglect to which she was subjected for many years afterwards.

Antoinette, the second sister, married, in 1798, Duke Alexander of Würtemberg. She is described by the King as having been clever, amiable, and possessed of a great "esprit de conduite." Her sister, the Princess Sophia, was much attached to her, and lived with her a great deal at Fantaisie, near Baireuth, which at that time was the resort of many Bavarian families as well as of French emigrants. It was here that the Princess Sophia made the acquaintance of Count Mensdorff, whom she afterwards married, after refusing many very eligible matches of her own rank. The greatest intimacy and friendship existed in youth between her sons—all distinguished in the Austrian service—and their cousin Prince Albert.

"My poor father," adds the King, "was "sinking very fast when she was with [illegible] [illegible]

"Austerlitz put an end to it. We went to Berlin, where we "met the Grand Duke Constantine, and returned afterwards "to Coburg. In 1806 the war with Prussia became evident. "There was still a great notion that the Prussians, who "spoke with great contempt of the Austrians, would do "wonders. Towards the end of September my brother "joined the King of Prussia. My parents, aunt Sophia "Mensdorff, little Hugo, and myself, went to Saalfeld, "hoping that perhaps, owing to the Thuringerwald, we "should remain perfectly quiet. Poor Prince Louis Fer-"dinand of Prussia, however, took an absurd position near "Saalfeld, which clearly, once the fact known that the "French were in great force, could only lead to his destruc-"tion. So we who went to Saalfeld to be out of the way, "got into the very midst of a battle; Coburg having only "had the passage of the French, but no other incon-"venience.

"We returned 'tant bien que mal' to Coburg. Towards "the end of November, and the first days of December, our "beloved benevolent father sank very fast, and died on the "9th of December 1806. The situation was a sad one. "The French had occupied but not yet seized Coburg, as "our father was present. But after his death the question "was immediately put: 'Where is the new Duke?' Hearing "that he was with the King of Prussia, Coburg was taken "possession of, and a Military Intendant took everything "in hand. He was not an agreeable person: a M. Vilain, "bearing well that name.

"To complicate matters still more, there was a very ill-"timed sort of insurrection against M. de Kretschmann. "The French believed it partly directed against themselves. "It was put down by military intervention. Soon after a "new Intendant arrived, a M. Dumolart, Auditeur du Con-"seil d'Etat. Nearly all the young men of good families,

"who did not serve in the army, were utilisés as Auditeurs "du Conseil d'Etat. Molé, Duc de Broglie, &c. were all in "this position, and generally employed in the administration "of conquered countries. At the same time Colonel Parigot "was named Military Commandant. My good mother and "all of us had no means of existence but what was clandes-"tinely given by our employés, and a little tolerated by the "Intendant.

"Our mother, in the hope of obtaining the means of "getting your uncle back, and also to make Coburg enter "into the Rheinbund which the other Saxon Houses were "going to obtain, went to Berlin, and was ready to go to "Warsaw to see the great man. She got, however, not "beyond Berlin, Napoleon not being very fond of those "visits. General Clerke, Duc de Feltre, the Governor of "Berlin, was very kind to her. I am sorry to say that our "cousins behaved very badly, particularly la Duchesse de "Meiningen, whose plenipotentiary was the famous Baron "Erfa. Their wish was to get Coburg excluded, and thereby "of course destroyed. During the time my poor brother "was ill at Konigsberg, and when it became necessary to "leave it for Memel, he was thrown, crossing the ice, into "the river. He had typhus, and though there are examples "of cold baths saving the patient, he remained ill for some "time, recovering but slowly. My poor mother returned to "Coburg, and we remained 'une possession Française.'

"At the end of April 1807, my brother arrived by way "of Austria, but not at Coburg. He went to a quiet place "near Baireuth to meet us, and then to Egra, Franzens-"brunnen, where I went with him.

"The Peace of Tilsitt, as one of its clauses, 'réintégra "le Duc de Saxe-Cobourg,' and then only he returned to "Coburg and took possession.

"In September 1807, it was considered right to pay a

"visit to Napoleon at Paris. The two Mecklenburgs, also "réintégrés by the peace of Tilsitt, went also there. We "were kindly treated. The Duke Alexander and Antoinette "had gone to Russia in 1803, where they were entirely "settled. After our return from Paris, in the spring of "1808, I nearly died of a typhus fever. My brother went "to Petersburg to claim some increase of territory, and also "to claim the hand of the Grand Duchess Anna Paulowna, "which was promised to him when he was still too young; "but the engagement was positive. Antoinette had come "to Coburg, and my mother, Antoinette, and for some time "your Mama, went to Carlsbad and Töplitz, in Bohemia. I "recovered very slowly. At the beginning of October, I was "summoned by the Emperor Alexander and the Grand Duke "Constantine to Weimar and Erfurth, that famous Congress. "Aunt Antoinette was also called upon. I saw then a good "deal of Napoleon, and should have succeeded in getting for "my brother some territory, if the Emperor Alexander had "had more energy, and that my dear brother always asked a "little too much.

"In 1809 was the Austrian war, in which uncle Ferdinand "served as Obrist von E. H. Ferdinand Husaren, and was "wounded, and Mensdorff was also wounded.

"The years 1810 and 1811 were quiet enough. I had "the disappointment of being prohibited to serve in Russia; "Napoleon rendering my brother responsible, as he knew "that I could not otherwise be prevented. It was a dan-"gerous moment out of which to get, as he wished me to "enter the French service. However, it succeeded. Queen "Hortense was then very friendly, and aided me to escape "the Emperor's propositions. Old Joséphine was also "always very kind to us and the Mecklenburgs.

"In 1811, in the summer, not being yet twenty-one, I "got my brother a very good treaty with Bavaria, by which

"Bavaria consented to divide with Coburg possessions which "they had acquired in 1805! and which had been Reich's "'*unmittelbar*.' Feo (Princess Hohenlohe) will explain this, "only imagine that the Bavarians had *Fullbach* and another "village[5] opposite!"

"In 1812 the Russian war *broke out*, and at the same "time the marriage with the Grand Duchess *Anna*, that *had* "been getting more and more *doubtful*, the *Empress mother* "not being sincere in it, was finally *broken off*.

"Napoleon's excuse for *engaging* in this *war* was, that "Russia, by permitting trade with *England*, was *destroying* "his system of Continental blockade. *Germany* was ruined "by the passage of innumerable masses *of troops*, which were "gradually pushed towards Poland. In *May*, *Napoleon* "invited the German Sovereigns to *Dresden*. The *Emperor* "of Austria, and the Empress, the *King of Prussia*, the "King of Bavaria, the *King of Würtemberg*, the *Queen of* "Westphalia, and all the minor German *Princes*, went there. "All the Ministers of these various *Princes* went there also. "The *Duke of Coburg* and his brother *Ferdinand* went also "to Dresden. The younger brother, *Leopold*, did not think "it safe to appear, as the Emperor Napoleon had, in 1811, "expressed a wish to employ him. He went to Vienna and "then to Italy, to be quite out of the way.

"Germany was, at the beginning of 1812, in the lowest "and most humiliating position: *Austria* and *Prussia* sunk "to be auxiliaries; everybody frightened and submissive, "except Spain, supported by England!

"The two elder brothers were chiefly at *Coburg*. The "Mensdorffs came also; as well as Victoire, the *Princess of* "Leiningen.

"All the news that reached Germany were favourable to

[5] [illegible]

"the Emperor Napoleon. In November only there came "vague reports of non-success in Russia. In December "there appeared the famous bulletin which told the end of "the disastrous campaign in Russia. The Duke of Coburg "went to Berlin to act upon the mind of the King Frederic "William III., who was known, though dreadfully mal-"treated, to come with great reluctance to any decision, "and who took in general gloomy views of everything. "The enthusiasm of Germany cannot be described. After "seven years of slavery a ray of hope animated again the "people.

"The first of January 1813, saw Germany happier than "it had been for a very long time. The Duke of Coburg "had returned from Berlin, where he left the King much "perplexed. After some stay at home he made a second "voyage there. Prince Ferdinand went to Vienna to ascer-"tain the sentiments there. Prince Leopold went to Munich "at the beginning of February to see the Crown Prince of "Bavaria, afterwards King Louis, with whom he was on "terms of great friendship, and who was ardently devoted "to the 'Befreiung' of Germany from the French tyranny. "The Duke of Coburg exercised a useful influence on the "King of Prussia, contributing to decide him to go to "Breslau. At Berlin he had been surrounded by the "French corps of Marshal Augereau, who had not been in "Russia, but left behind pour surveiller Prussia. The King "might at any moment have been arrested at Berlin. At "Breslau he was surrounded by his own troops and a very "devoted population. Prince Leopold went from Munich "to Breslau, where he was joined by Prince Ferdinand, who "brought favourable news from Vienna.

"The Duke, being still completely in the hands of "France, was forced to return to Coburg, where great "efforts were made to keep secret the journeys of the two

"Princes. Prince Ferdinand returned to Vienna, and soon "took the command of some Austrian troops again. Prince "Leopold left Breslau for Kalisch in Poland, where the "Emperor Alexander had his head-quarters. He was the "first German Prince who joined the liberating army. On "the demand of the Grand Duke Constantine, his brother-"in-law, who commanded the Guards, he was attached to "his staff. The Emperor having reserved the rank of "Major-General, he found himself one of the older Generals.

"The Russian army had been much weakened by the "fatigues of the winter campaign. The King of Prussia "coming to Kalisch expressed to Prince Leopold his appre-"hension that the Russian army would not be strong enough "when the French reorganized army should advance. The "Prince shared the King's misgivings on that subject. The "army advanced towards Dresden, where it arrived in the "latter days of April. After a short stay it moved on "towards the Saal. The battle of Lutzen took place on the "2nd of May. If the dispositions had been made as they "ought to have been, it ought to have been a decisive "victory, owing to the great superiority in number and "quality of the allied cavalry.

"As it was, the ground was kept by the army, which "retired towards the Elbe, and afterwards to the neighbour-"hood of Bautzen, where, on the 20th and 21st of May, a "second battle[6] was fought. The allied army was too weak, "and though again not beaten, it was forced to retire into "Silesia. An armistice was then concluded at the beginning "of June, which lasted till the middle of August. Negotia-"tions had been carried on at Prague. Napoleon could not "bring himself to accept the most moderate propositions of "the three Powers. The Emperor of Austria feared the

[6] Bautzen.

"breaking out of a war, and, to the last moment, expressed "the hope that Napoleon would give way.

"Prince Leopold remained the whole time at Prague, "much in the society of the negotiators, Prince Metternich, "Baron Humboldt, Baron Anstedt, the Russian Plenipo-"tentiary, Chevalier Gentz, &c. He was the only person "admitted to see the Emperor Francis of Austria. During "the armistice the Emperor Alexander had wished to see "his sister-in-law, the Grand Duchess Anna Feodorowna. "Prince Leopold arranged the meeting, which took place at "Blasdorff, in Silesia, in a pretty château. The Emperor "had gone there quite alone, and it was interesting to see "him so. He was extremely amiable.

"On the 26th August most of the troops composing the "Bohemian allied army had already crossed into Saxony, and "marched towards Dresden. The cavalry of the Guard, and "part of the reserves, were on the better *higher road*, when "the Prince Eugene of Würtemberg, who commanded the "extreme right wing of General Wittgenstein, was attacked, "on the 26th August, by General Vandamme, with very "superior forces. The Prince begging to have some cavalry "sent to him, Prince Leopold was detached to his assistance, "and enabled him to leave a position in which he had been "much exposed. The advance of General Vandamme "threatening the communications with Bohemia, the first "division of Foot Guards, the Hussars of the Guard, and "other troops, were sent to protect the right wing, under "Generals Ostermann and Yermoloff; Prince Leopold "taking the command of all the cavalry present. The allied "army retiring to Bohemia in the night of the 27th to the "28th of August, Count Ostermann's little corps had to force "its way through Vandamme's corps, to regain the principal "road leading to Töplitz. Prince Leopold was, of all the "generals, the only one who knew the country, which proved

"of great importance. The 29th was devoted to hard fight-"ing. On the 30th General Vandamme and most of his "corps were taken prisoners. Prince Leopold received on "the morning of the 30th, on the field, the Third Class of "the Military Order of St. George of Russia, and later the "Cross of Maria Theresa of Austria, and the Iron Cross of "Prussia.

"After some delay the allied army went into Saxony in "October, and on the 16th, 17th, and 18th of October, "battles took place at Leipsic, finally liberating Germany.

"From Weimar, at the beginning of November, the "Grand Duke Constantine of Russia went with Prince "Leopold to Coburg, where he wished to see the family. "There were present the Duke, the Dowager Duchess, "Princess Sophia, and Field Marshal Prince Frederick "Josias. The Grand Duke remained a week at Coburg. "He joined the army again at Frankfort, where soon all the "allied Sovereigns were united. He paid, with Prince "Leopold, a visit to the Princess of Leiningen, at "Amorbach. At Frankfort the Duke, Princes Ferdinand "and Leopold, remained some time. It was at that period "that there were some negotiations about a marriage of "the Duke with Princess Herminie of Anhalt Schaumburg, "who afterwards married the Archduke Palatine. The "Duke did not follow up that plan, as a more advantageous "marriage seemed possible.

"In December great part of the allied army took the "direction of Switzerland. The Grand Duke Constantine "and Prince Leopold paid a second and longer visit at "Amorbach. The Duke remained at Frankfort to take "the command of a German corps d'observation, which "was to blockade, and, if possible, to take Mayence, "where a considerable French force had remained. Prince "Ferdinand, after some demonstrations against Mayence,

"went with the Austrian army to Switzerland, and afterwards "to Franche Comté, in Eastern France, where he remained. "The great head-quarters of the Emperor of Russia and the "King of Prussia occupied Bâle on the 12th of January 1814. "The Grand Duke Constantine went with Prince Leopold "to Elfenau, near Berne, the residence of the Grand Duchess "Anna Feodorowna. His ardent wish was a reconciliation. "Unfortunately it did not take place. The great army "struggled on in France; political difficulties preventing its "going after the battle of Brienne, on the 2nd of February, "to Paris, which might easily have been done. Only on "the 30th March the attack of Paris took place. On the "31st the allied army entered Paris. Prince Leopold "entered it at the head of the cavalry he commanded, and "remained at Paris: the Duke, after an armistice with "Mayence, settled its evacuation by the French, and came "to Paris. Prince Ferdinand came there also. In the "middle of June the Duke went to Germany—Prince "Ferdinand also. Prince Leopold accompanied the Em-"peror Alexander to England. The events which took "place then are known. The Duke and Duchess of York "were most friendly, so was the Duke of Kent. The Regent "was much irritated, first, by Princess Charlotte refusing the "Prince of Orange; afterwards by her flight to her mother. "The majority of the public were favourable to Prince "Leopold—even Ministers—particularly the Wellesley family, "Lord Castlereagh, &c.

"At the end of July, Prince Leopold left London. "Before that he was graciously received by the Regent, who "had verified that no unfair intrigue had taken place. He "assisted at a splendid ball at Carlton House, which closed "the season, and where he received demonstrations of "kindness from the whole family. The Prince opened the "ball with Princess Mary, not yet Duchess of Gloucester.

"The Duke of Sussex and the Duke of Gloucester were not "at that time received by the Regent or his Ministers. "Prince Leopold went through Holland to Amorbach, "where the Prince of Leiningen had died unexpectedly "He assisted the Princess to settle her guardianship. The "three brothers met at Amorbach, and afterwards at "Coburg.

"At the end of August the Duke and Prince Ferdinand "went to Vienna, where the Congress had begun its sittings "Prince Leopold, who had remained with his beloved mother, "joined them there towards the end of September. The "Duke entrusted a good deal of the management of what "he hoped to obtain to Prince Leopold.

"Good results were to be obtained, but the Duke inter- "fering in the great affairs in a way which was disagreeable "to the Emperor of Russia, his chief protector, his affairs "declined. Prince Leopold again took their direction, but "made the condition that the Duke would not interfere in "any way. The result was not so good as what Prince "Leopold had originally almost already obtained; still it "was important for the house of Coburg. Prussia showed "great hatred to the Duke, owing to his having been against "her plan concerning the King of Saxony. If Chevalier "Gentz had not kindly informed the Prince that the Prussians "had prevented the arrangement for Coburg from being in "the treaty, which was to be signed the following day, the "hopes of Coburg would have been wrecked at the last "moment; as it was, the Prince got the Russian and Austrian "Ministers to put into the treaty the paragraph concerning "Coburg, to the great displeasure of Baron von Humboldt. "From that moment the Prussians showed the utmost "hostility to Coburg, and never executed the part of their "engagement by which they were bound to exchange the "territories which had been assigned to Coburg on the

"Rhine, against some detached territories in Saxony, which "were most desirable for Coburg.

"During the Congress Prince Ferdinand gained the "heart of the blooming heiress of the house of Kohary. "The Duke of Wellington and Lord Castlereagh, and all "the English, showed a marked kindness to Prince Leopold. "The Duke of Kent was so kind as to favour some commu-"nications with Princess Charlotte, who expressed her "determination to remain firm in her plans. I forgot to "mention a subject which has been since told as a proof "of the great poverty of Prince Leopold when he was in "England in 1814. He came with the Emperor Alexander, "and as long as the Emperor remained himself in England, "the lodgings of the persons who had come with him were "paid by him. The Russian Ambassador, Count Lieven, "had the charge of locating the suite, and as they lived in "Harley Street, they lodged the people near it, and had "taken a rather indifferent lodging for Prince Leopold in "High Street, Marylebone. The Prince had nothing to do "with the choice of that lodging, and as soon as the "Emperor had left, he lodged himself in Stratford Place, "in a house where General Count Beroldingen, the Würtem-"berg Minister, lodged, and where he remained till he left "London. He might have explained these things before, "but he had not thought it worth while.

"The final conclusion of the Congress of Vienna took "place in June 1815. After the return of Napoleon from "Elba, the allies were occupied in collecting their armies. "The Duke of Coburg received the command of a corps "d'observation, which remained in Alsace, and was com-"posed of the royal Saxon contingent. The battle of "Waterloo decided the fate of Napoleon. An Austrian "army occupied the south and east of France. The German "troops of the confederation occupied eastern France. A

"Russian army advanced, but reached France only in July "and August. Prince Leopold, whose division of light "cavalry did not go as far as France, went to Paris with "the approbation of the Emperor Alexander in July. He "remained there occupied with political affairs, and obtained "for his brother an augmentation of territory. He was "treated with marked kindness by the English. The Duke "of Kent was so kind as to facilitate, through an officer "devoted to him, communications with Princess Charlotte. "The Princess and her friends wished the Prince to go to "England. He was, however, of opinion that the Princess's "father should not be braved (*bravé*), as it would render "things but more difficult. The Princess thought this an "excess of discretion, and was not pleased; but after events "proved that the forbearance had been wise.

"Prince Ferdinand married young Princess Kohary at "the beginning of 1816. The Duke went to Vienna to "be present at this marriage. Prince Leopold, by his "brother's desire, went to Berlin to effect the exchange "which Prussia had engaged by treaty to make; which, "however, with remarkable bad faith, it eluded to execute. "It was in January, at Berlin, that Prince Leopold received "the invitation of the Prince Regent to come to England, "and also an explanation from Lord Castlereagh. He was "forced to wait for his brother's arrival from Vienna, and "then left in fearfully cold weather for Coburg. He caught "an inflammatory cold which retained him, to his great "dismay, at Coburg, receiving the most pressing letters "from England to hasten his arrival. It was painful to be "quite unable to set out, and only in February could he "leave Coburg. At Calais he was detained by stormy "weather. In London he found Lord Castlereagh, with "whom he went to Brighton, to be presented to the Prince "Regent, who received him graciously, though suffering from

"gout. He spoke about the Princess Charlotte and his "plans about her. Soon Queen Charlotte and the Prin-"cesses Augusta, Elizabeth, and Mary arrived, and in their "society Princess Charlotte; her friends being mostly of the "Opposition, they had inspired her with the apprehension "that the Prince would be too subservient to the Regent, "and she expressed this apprehension rather warmly.

"There were no formal fiançailles, but the marriage was "declared as being fully decided. The Princesses left "Brighton at the beginning of March for Windsor; Prin-"cess Charlotte for Cranbourn Lodge,[7] where she resided "with the Dowager Lady Ilchester, Mrs. Campbell, Colonel "Addenbrook, and Dr. Short. Prince Leopold remained at "Brighton; made, however, a visit to Windsor, where "Princess Charlotte came, and also at Cranbourn, which "the Regent did not approve.

"The marriage was to have been in April, but, after "many delays, it took place on the 2nd of May. The "public showed the most affectionate interest. The young "couple spent a fortnight at Oatlands, the Duke of York's "residence. Great demonstrations took place during the "summer.

"Claremont, the property of Mr. R. Ellis, was selected "by Prince Leopold after having seen other places. In "September the Prince and Princess established themselves "there. Unfortunately the season was uncommonly rainy. "In December a visit was paid at Brighton, when the whole "family was united except the Duchess of York, who rarely "went to these reunions, living generally at Oatlands. The "Duchess came often to Claremont, and was also frequently "visited. The Orleans family came to Claremont, and were "visited at Twickenham.

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[7] In Windsor Park. One tower alone now remains, where a keeper lives.

"The Princess's health was liable to be a little deranged. "Her nerves had suffered much during the last few years. "She improved, however, visibly at Claremont.

"From March there began to be hopes. The Princess's "health was in a satisfactory state. She gave, however, up "walking too much, which proved pernicious. November[8] "saw the ruin of this happy home, and the destruction at "one blow of every hope and happiness of Prince Leopold. "He has never recovered the feeling of happiness which had "blessed his short married life.

"The Duke of Coburg had, after some difficulty, suc- "ceeded in securing the last offspring of the House of "Gotha, Princess Louise. The Duke of Kent had offered "his hand to the Princess of Leiningen, but her position as "guardian of her children created delays Princess Char- "lotte, who loved tenderly her uncle, the Duke of Kent, "was most ardently desirous of this union, and most impa- "tient to see it concluded. 1818 was passed in retirement "by Prince Leopold, who only saw some members of the "Royal Family. The Duke and Duchess of Kent resided "most of the time at Claremont. In September Prince "Leopold went by Switzerland to see his sister to Coburg, "where he remained till the beginning of May 1819, when "he returned by Paris to England, where his sister had been "happily confined.

"The Regent was not kind to his brother. At every "instant something or other of an unpleasant nature arose. "The Duke and Duchess resided repeatedly at Claremont. "Prince Leopold made in August an excursion to Scotland "and through various parts of England. He received

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[8] She died on the 5th in childbed, a few hours after the birth of a still-born son. Had she been skilfully treated her life at least would have been saved.

"everywhere the most enthusiastic welcome. The Regent "was not pleased with this journey. The Duke and "Duchess of Kent came to Claremont after the Prince's "return, and remained there till he went to Sidmouth, where "the Duke hoped to escape the winter which had set in with "unusual severity, even in November, when thick ice was "everywhere to be seen. 1820 Prince Leopold was at "Lord Craven's, when the news arrived that a cold which "the Duke got at Salisbury, visiting the Cathedral, had "become alarming. Soon after the Prince's arrival the "Duke breathed his last.[9] The Duchess, who lost a most "amiable and devoted husband, was in a state of the greatest "distress. It was fortunate that Prince Leopold had not "been out of the country, as the poor Duke had left his "family deprived of all means of existence. The journey to "Kensington was most painful, and the weather, at the same "time, very severe. It had been the opinion of many people "that the Duchess ought, first of all, to have taken possession "of Kensington. King George III. died almost at the same "moment as his son. King George IV. showed himself, at "the first moment, very affable to Prince Leopold, which "line of conduct was in view of what might happen con- "cerning the now Queen Caroline. The Duchess of Kent "resided with the Princesses[10] a good deal at Claremont. "Queen Caroline's arrival in June threw the whole country "into confusion. Prince Leopold's position became unbear- "ingly distressing between the King and the Queen Caroline. "A severe illness of his mother, the Dowager Duchess of "Coburg, would have given a colour to his leaving England, "to keep out of the painful struggle which was going on; it

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[9] On the 23rd of January.

[10] The infant Princess Victoria, and her eldest daughter, Princess Feodore of Leiningen, now Princess Hohenlohe.

"was much wished by the King, who employed Lord "Lauderdale in this sad affair; but how abandon entirely "the mother of Princess Charlotte, who, though she knew "her mother well, loved her very much? The Prince "determined not to interfere till the evidence against the "Queen should be closed, so that whatever he might do "could not influence the evidence. This decision was "evidently the most honest and the most impartial. He "waited till the evidence was closed, and then paid a visit "to his mother-in-law at Brandenburg House. She received "him kindly; looked very strange, and said strange things. "The country was in a state of incredible excitement, and "this visit was a great card for the Queen. It had an effect "on the Lords which it ought not to have had, as it could "not change the evidence; but it is certain that many Lords "changed, and Ministers came to the certainty that the "proceedings could not be carried further. They proposed "that the measure should be given up. The King, who had "been, it must be confessed, much maltreated during this "sad trial, was furious, and particularly against Prince "Leopold. He never forgave it; being very vindictive, "though he occasionally showed kinder sentiments, particu-"larly during Mr. Canning's being Minister. He, of course, "at first declared that he would never see the Prince again. "However, the Duke of York arranged an interview. The "King could not resist his curiosity, and got Prince Leopold "to tell him how Queen Caroline was dressed, and all sorts "of details.

"After the coronation, in July 1821, Prince Leopold "went to Coburg. He arranged for his mother, the "Duchess of Coburg, a residence for the winter at Genoa, "which did benefit her health extremely. He remained "some time with her, and afterwards went to Florence, "Rome, and Naples. In the spring of 1822 the Duchess

"returned to Coburg. The Duke Auguste of Gotha died "during the summer. His brother, Duke Frederic, succeeded "him. His health was in a most deplorable state.

"Prince Leopold went at the beginning of September to "Vienna to see the Emperor Alexander. The late Lord "Londonderry (Charles) did all he could to get the Prince "unkindly received. Prince Metternich did the same, but "from other motives. He fancied the Prince had intentions "upon Greece, which was not the case. The Duke of "Wellington arrived afterwards and put a stop to Lord "Londonderry's calumnies, who had wished to recommend "himself by it to George IV. The Prince, far too good-"natured, ought to have avenged himself on Lord London-"derry.

"The Prince went in October to Coburg, where he "remained some time with his family, going in December to "Paris, and in January to England. The Duchess of Kent "and her children came to Claremont. Later in the year "took place the first séjour at Ramsgate of the Duchess, her "children, and Prince Leopold.

"In 1824 the Duchess repeatedly spent some time at "Claremont.[11] Prince Leopold arrived too late in August "to prevent some painful events at Coburg. He returned "by Paris to England, where he arrived in January 1825. "At Coburg there were still the consequences of the sad "events of 1824. The young Princes, Ernest and Albert, "prospered. The health of Prince Albert was more delicate "than that of his brother. He suffered occasionally from "an affection of the bronchia. The Dowager Duchess of "Coburg came at the end of August to England, and the "united family spent a very beautiful autumn at Claremont.

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[11] NOTE BY THE QUEEN.—These were the happiest days of the Queen's childhood.

"Princess Victoria was then seriously unwell, and alarmed "the family very much. The Dowager Duchess returned to "the Continent at the beginning of October. The Royal "Family lived tolerably quietly this year.

"*1826.*—In the course of the summer Duke Frederic of "Gotha died.[12] This created considerable discussion "amongst the three remaining branches of Ernest the "Pious's children. It was finally decided that Meiningen "should receive Hildburghausen and Saalfeld—Hildburg-"hausen, the rich and beautiful Dukedom of Altenburg, "and Coburg Gotha. The loss of Saalfeld with its very "pleasant environs, on the banks of the Saal, grieved some "members of the family. Gotha had, besides, the incon-"venience of being entirely separated from Coburg.

"Prince Leopold went to Carlsbad for his health. He "afterwards spent some time at Coburg, and gave his "assistance to the arrangements which resulted from this "new order of things. Later in the year he went to Italy, "and spent the winter at Naples. Since 1825 overtures "had been made to Prince Leopold about Greece. Mr. "Canning would not listen to these overtures, saying that "Prince Leopold would be much more useful in England.

"At Naples Prince Leopold was dangerously ill of fever. "He returned in the spring of 1827 to England. The "Duchess of Kent and Princess Victoria visited Claremont, "afterwards Tunbridge and Ramsgate. The Dowager "Duchess spent the winter at Genoa.

"Early in 1828 Princess Feodore married the Prince of "Hohenlohe Langenburg. Prince Leopold went for a short "time to Paris. Charles X. was always most kind to him.

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[12] This must be a mistake He seems to have died in 1825. The arrangement for the division of his inheritance was only completed in 1826. See Chapters I. to III.

"Some of the Legitimists spoke of the advantages which "might result from a marriage of the Duchess de Berri with "Prince Leopold, who, however, felt no partiality for their "plans.

"The Duke of Coburg was much occupied with his new "and splendid possession of Gotha. Prince Leopold went "to Silesia to meet King Frederic William III. of Prussia. "His chief object had been to see then the best friend he "ever had, Prince William [13] of Prussia, the King's youngest "brother. The then Crown Prince of Prussia made Prince "Leopold promise to join him at Naples, which he did in "November. In March 1829, he returned by Paris to "England. The propositions concerning Greece had now "already taken a more prominent tournure. Russia and "France were particularly favourable, and desirous to see "the Prince accept. In England matters were also now "progressing. Great political events took place in England. "The Duke of Cumberland had, at that time, great influence "with the King, and opposed the Duke of Wellington's "administration most bitterly. He took also a violent part "in Greek affairs, engaging the King to prefer the "candidature of Duke Charles of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, "the brother of the Duchess of Cumberland. Ministers "pressed the King to accept Prince Leopold, and were "even forced to threaten to resign. This was most unfortu-"nate for the Greek affairs, as it rendered it impossible for "Prince Leopold to press upon a Cabinet that staked its "existence on the question, those measures which many "sensible people in England thought necessary for the "existence of Greece.

"Prince Metternich had from the beginning wished to

[13] Maternal grandfather to Prince Louis of Hesse, husband of Princess Alice.

"ruin the young Greek State. Not succeeding in this, he "used the influence he had with the Duke and Lord "Aberdeen to propose a frontier which was quite unaccept-"able, and of which . . . ."

The King's notes break off here, but in a memorandum which he wrote in answer to the misstatements contained in a history of these transactions, and of which he sent a copy to the Queen in 1862, he says that as the Porte had left the question of frontier entirely in the hands of the London Conference, and France and Russia were not unfavourably disposed, it might have been settled in a satisfactory manner, without serious opposition, had the English Government been equally well inclined. But there seems also to have been a question of the annexation of Candia as well as of the Ionian Islands to the new Greek State. Prince Leopold himself pressed for the former, and says that in England both Parliament and the public were also in favour of the latter in case he accepted the Greek throne. The English Government seems, however, to have set its face against the cession of either. The Duke of Wellington declared that Candia must belong to the possessors of the Dardanelles, and, though in the face of public opinion, the cession of the Ionian Islands could not be openly opposed, it was easy to interpose delay, which proved as effectual in defeating the proposal. For before any final decision had been come to on this point, the whole arrangement, as far as Prince Leopold was concerned, had come to an end on the question of frontier.

In the course of 1830, by a visit to Paris, and great personal exertions, the Prince had obtained the assent of the three Powers to a guaranteed loan of 60,000,000 of francs,[11]

[11] The French and Russian Governments, the King says, came readily into this arrangement, that of England not without some difficulty.

without which the government of the new State of Greece (the country itself being entirely without credit) could not have been carried on. But when the frontier came to be discussed with a view to its final settlement, Lord Aberdeen, who conducted the business in the name of the English Government, would admit of no modification of the line proposed by them, and which the King describes as having been utterly impossible. He had himself, with a view to a compromise which might be accepted by the Greeks, proposed a line running from the Gulf of Volo to that of Arta. But Lord Aberdeen asserted that it was a question of an arrangement to be declared, not one subject to negotiation. And as Prince Leopold had made his acceptance of the government dependent on the acceptance of the frontier line he had proposed, there was nothing left for him after this but to withdraw altogether from the affair.[15]

The King adds in his memorandum that the Conference then determined upon sending out a commission to consider the question of frontier on the spot; and that as the result of their labours, in 1831, a line such as he had himself suggested was agreed to, and is in fact now the Northern frontier of Greece.

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[15] The Queen well remembers her joy when this took place, as she adored her Uncle, and was in despair at the thought of his departure for Greece.

APPENDIX B.

CONFIRMATION OF THE PRINCES.

Coburg, April 13th, 1835.

THE confirmation of the two Princes Ernest and Albert took place at Coburg on the 11th and 12th inst. Both parts of the country, Coburg as well as Gotha, would have taken the liveliest interest in this event, even if it had been celebrated quietly in the circle of the family, as the two promising young princes are looked up to with the warmest affection by all the inhabitants of the Duchy. But the Duke, regarding himself as the head of the great family of his subjects, wished to be surrounded by them on this joyful occasion, and to enable them to take part in his happiness. Invitations were consequently sent to all the authorities; and all heads of departments, as well as deputations from the diet, the clergy, the towns, and villages attended.

On the first day, the 11th of April, the public examination of the Princes took place in the "Giants' Hall" of the Castle, in presence of the Duke, her Highness the Duchess Dowager of Gotha-Altenburg, their Serene Highnesses the Princes Alexander and Ernest of Würtemberg, Prince Leiningen, Princess Hohenlohe-Langenburg, and Princess Hohenlohe Schillingsfürst. The household, the ministry, the members of the government offices, the

His Highness the Duke showed his satisfaction by bestowing numerous marks of favour, especially on those who had taken part in the education and instruction of the two Princes. The town of Coburg presented the tutor of the two Princes, Councillor Florschütz, with a diamond ring as an acknowledgment of his services. His greatest reward, however, for having spent the best years of his life in the education of the Princes, will be found in his having been able to present the pupils committed to his charge to their father, healthy and sound in body as well as in mind and heart.

One thing only caused sincere regret on this joyful occasion, viz.,—that her Highness the Duchess was prevented from being present, as she could not venture on the journey from Gotha to Coburg at this inclement season. But her best wishes undoubtedly attended her sons.

The kindness with which the people of Gotha were received by the inhabitants of Coburg deserves especial acknowledgment; but chiefly to the Duke are hearty thanks due for the care taken by his Highness, that their visit to Coburg should be made as agreeable as possible to his subjects of Gotha.

APPENDIX C.

THE PRINCE'S LETTERS.

TO DR. SEEBODE. (See *Translation*, pp. 124 *et seqq.*)

Verehrtester Herr Consistorialrath,—Trotz allen den Zerstreuungen, welche das Leben hier in Gotha uns bietet, trotz einer Unzahl von Besuchen, trotz dem Heulen des Sturmwindes, trotz dem Lärm der Wache unter unsern Fenstern, habe ich doch endlich die Disposition zu dem Aufsatze „über die Anschauungsweise „der Deutschen" vollendet, und schicke sie Ihnen hierbei zur Durchsicht, mit der Bitte, die vielerlei Mängel, welche Ihr kritischer Blick ohne Zweifel entdecken wird, nicht allzu streng zu rügen. Sie erhalten meine Arbeit ohne Kopf und Schwanz. Ich habe deßhalb zu der Einleitung und dem Schluß kein Skelett entworfen, weil ich es für unnöthig hielt; ich will nämlich den Culturgang der Deutschen in dem Verlaufe der Geschichte verfolgen bis auf unsre jetzigen Zeiten, und werde mich dabei in allgemeinen Umrißen der Eintheilung bedienen, welche der Abhandlung zu Grunde liegt. Der Schluß sollte einen Rückblick auf die Mängel unsrer Zeit geben und die Aufforderung enthalten, daß ein Jeder sich bessern möge, jene Mängel zuerst aus seinem eignen Benehmen zu verbannen, und so mit dem guten Beispiele voranzugehen.

Sollte Ihnen, Herr Director, dieser Gedanke nicht gefallen, so bitte ich Sie, mir es zu schreiben, ich werde mich dann bemühen, einen andern Schluß aufzufinden.

Gotha, Febr. 5, 1836.

In Gedanken ging ich alle verflossenen Weihnachtsabende durch, deren wir die meisten bei Dir verlebten, und von Dir immer so glänzend beschenkt wurden. Doch auch an diesem Weihnachtsabend war ich in Deiner Nähe, wenigstens im Geiste.

Das Glas ist wirklich ganz wunderschön und mit der hübschen Weste hoffe ich mich bald zu schmücken.

Wir gedachten, wie Du weißt, liebe Großmama, die Weihnachtswoche in Brüssel zu verleben, daran hat uns mein einfältiges Knie verhindert, welches zwar fast ganz wieder heil ist, aber noch nicht stark genug ist, eine ähnliche Reise und die dortigen Anstrengungen ohne Folgen auszuhalten. Es thut uns außerordentlich leid auf diese Freude verzichten zu müssen. Doch, auf der andern Seite, haben wir nun um so mehr Zeit und Muße die Collegien und Arbeiten zu repetiren und die ruhige Erholung meines Fußes abzuwarten.

Zugleich, liebe Großmama, erlaube mir Dir meine herzlichsten Glückwünsche zu Füßen zu legen. Möge aller Segen des Himmels auch im kommenden Jahre auf Dir ruhen. Möge der Himmel Dir stets Gesundheit und ungetrübte Heiterkeit verleihen. Mir erhalte auch im nächsten Jahre die Liebe und das Wohlwollen deren ich mich bis jetzt erfreute.

Noch bin ich Dir vielen Dank für zwei Briefe schuldig, die ich bis jetzt nicht beantworten konnte, da vor herankommenden Ferien, die Arbeiten sich so häufen, daß sie den ganzen Tag in Anspruch nehmen.

Wie freute es mich zu hören daß Du wieder vollkommen wohl und gesund bist.

Von dem lieben Bonn habe ich Dir nichts zu erzählen. Der Streit der Meinungen über die hannövrischen Angelegenheiten und die mit dem Erzbischof von Köln, bilden den Mittelpunkt und Wunderpunkt der hiesigen Conversationen.

Nun lebe wohl, liebe Großmama, und behalte in liebevollem Andenken

Deinen treuen Enkel,

Albert.

[illegible]

. . . [illegible]

[illegible]

. . . [illegible] . . .

Neapel, am 25ten April 1839.

Nehme tausend Dank für Deinen letzten Brief, der mich von Deinen Reiseplänen in Kenntniß setzt. Ich reise morgen frühe von Neapel ab, und werde nun Schritt für Schritt, doch ohne einen längeren Aufenthalt an irgend einem Orte zu machen, an der Westküste Italiens hinaufwandern, und gedenke dann gegen Ende des nächsten Monats in Turin zu sein. Wie sehr wird es mich freuen Dich auf dem Boden Italiens oder in den Schweizer Bergen wieder zu sehen! Du wirst auf jeden Fall in Mailand einen Brief von mir vorfinden „poste restante," in welchem ich meinen näheren Reisebericht abstatten werde.

Mein Aufenthalt in Neapel war äußerst interessant, ich habe ihn auch recht benutzt um Alles zu sehen. Was mich besonders angesprochen hat, ist Pompeji, ein durch und durch merkwürdiger Punkt. Von den umliegenden schönsten Theilen der Gegend habe ich den Vesuv, Pästum, Sorrent und die Insel Capri besucht.

Pisa, am 5ten Mai 1839.

Ich schreibe diese Zeilen in der Hoffnung, daß sie Dich gesund und wohlbehalten in Mailand treffen mögen, um Dir Rapport über unseren Reisezustand abzustatten. Wir haben Neapel am 26sten verlassen und sind direct nach Rom gegangen, wo ich mich 2 Tage aufhielt, den einen, um noch eine allgemeine Uebersicht der Sachen zu bekommen, die ich während meines längeren Aufenthalts daselbst im Einzelnen gesehen hatte; den andern, um Tivoli zu sehen. Wir sind nun über Viterbo und Siena direct hierher, ohne Florenz zu berühren. Heute werde ich hier bleiben, morgen nach Livorno gehen und wieder hierher zurückkom
dann werde ich über Lucca nach Genua mein
wo ich also gegen den 9ten anlangen werde.
daselbst wird sich auf 2 bis 3 Tage beschränk
am 13ten dort abreisen werde. Dann
von Novi dem Norden zusteuern. Er

Nun nehme ich wieder Abschied von Dir. Victoria schreibt Dir selbst, um Dir ihren Wunsch zu erkennen zu geben.

Ich bitte zu einem so wichtigen und entscheidenden Schritte meines Lebens um Deinen großmütterlichen Segen, der mir ein Talisman sein wird gegen alle Stürme, die die Zukunft mir noch vorbehalten mag. Lebe wohl, liebe Großmutter, und entziehe mir Deine Liebe nicht.

Der Himmel wird alles gut machen.

Albert.

Liebe Großmama—Wie sehr dankbar bin ich Dir für Deinen lieben gnädigen Brief, den ich gestern erhielt, ich mußte ihn mehrmals durchlesen um ja recht die herrlichen Gesinnungen ganz zu fassen, die Du darin aussprichst.

Jedes Wort ist ein Ausfluß Deines lieben Charakters. Gewiß, liebe Großmama, die theure Heimath, das theure Vaterland, wird mir immer werth sein, und mein Herz wird ihm ein Freund sein, der mich oft daran erinnern wird. Für das Wohl meines zukünftigen neuen Vaterlandes zu leben, sich aufzuopfern, schließt ja nicht aus, dem Lande wohl zu thun, von dem man selbst so viele Wohlthaten empfangen hat. Ich werde neben unermüdlichem Streben und Arbeiten für das Land, dem ich in Zukunft angehören soll, und wo ich zu einer hoher Stellung berufen bin, nicht aufhören, ein treuer Deutscher, Koburger, Gothaner zu sein. Die Trennung wird mir noch recht weh thun. Ich freue mich recht auf die Paar Tage, die ich noch im Stande sein werde, bei Dir zuzubringen, es sind nur wenige, aber wir wollen sie recht genießen. . . .

Deinen treuen Enkel,

Albert.

Koburg, 28ten November 1839.

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jetzigen Zustande schaden möchte. Sie ist jedoch recht wohl, ich auch.

Ich danke Gott dem Allmächtigen für seinen Schutz!

Dein treuer Enkel,
(gez.) Albert.

Buckingham Palace, den 11 Juni 1840.

Der Uebelthäter heißt Edward Oxford, und ist 17 Jahre alt, ein Kellner in einem schlechten Wirthshause, nicht verrückt, und ganz ruhig und gefaßt.

APPENDIX D.

LIST OF MEMBERS OF PRIVY COUNCIL PRESENT AT THE DECLARATION.

[*Those marked with an asterisk are since dead.*]

Duke of Cambridge.*
Archbishop of Canterbury.*
Lord Chancellor (Earl of Cottenham).*
Lord President (Lord Lansdowne).*
Lord Privy Seal (Lord Clarendon).
Duke of Norfolk.*
Devonshire.*
Montrose.
Wellington.*
Marquis of Salisbury.
Anglesey.*
Normanby.*
Lord Chamberlain (Lord Uxbridge).
Earl of Surrey.*
Albemarle.*
Jersey.*
Earl of Erroll.*
Tankerville.*
Minto.*
Howe.
Amherst.*
Durham.*
Ripon.*
Viscount Castlereagh.
Strangford.*
Palmerston.*
Melbourne.*
Beresford.*
Ebrington.*
Lord John Russell.
Burghersh.*
Willoughby d'Eresby.*
Holland.*
Ellenborough.
Hill.*
Bexley.*

Lord Bloomfield.*
Wharncliffe.*
Lyndhurst.*
Cowley.*
Wynford.*
Brougham.
Denman.*
Abinger.*
Ashburton.*
Hatherton.*
Langdale.*
Monteagle.*
Bishop of London.*
The Speaker.*
Hon. J. P. Courtency.*
H. Pierrepoint.*
Sir R. Peel.*
G. Ouseley.*
Mr. Goulburn.*
Lord C. J. Tyndal.*
Sir W. Alexander.*
G. Cockburn.*
Mr. S. Lushington.
Herries.*
The Vice-Chancellor.*
Sir G. Murray.*
H. Hardinge.*
R. Adair.*
B. Taylor.*
Hon. J. Erskine.*
Sir Hyde East.*
J. Hobhouse.
Mr. Tennyson d'Eyncourt.*
E. Ellice.*
Baron Parke.*
Sir A. Johnstone.*
Mr. Justice Bosanquet.*
Sir E. Knatchbull.*
Mr. Planta.*
Wm. Peel.*
Mr. Labouchere.
Hon. G. Byng.
Dr. Lushington.
Sir G. Grey.
Sir F. Baring (Chancellor of the Exchequer).
Mr. Macaulay.*

APPENDIX E.

A COPY OF THE OFFICIAL NOTICE OF THE CEREMONIAL TO BE OBSERVED IN MAKING THE DECLARATION, AND OF THE DECLARATION ITSELF.

"*Coburg*, 8 *Dec.* 1839.

"Divine Service in the Court Chapel, at which the "reigning Duke and Duchess, Prince Albert, the whole "Court, the States, the chief authorities of the Duchy of "Coburg and Gotha, and all persons belonging to the "nobility will be present at four o'clock. The Court, and "the persons on a visit to the Duke, the Ministers, &c. &c., "all in full dress, will assemble in the large drawing-room— "the ladies in the   room. They will then proceed "to the Throne-room, and take their several places; and, "when everything is ready, the two chief officers of the "Court, the Grand Marshal and the Master of the House-"hold, will proceed to the apartments of the Duke and "Duchess, and conduct them, with Prince Albert, to the "Throne-room." Having all taken the seats appointed for them, "the Minister of State will proclaim the happy "event as follows:—

"DECLARATION.

"His Serene Highness the reigning Duke of Saxe-"Coburg and Gotha, our gracious Duke and Master, fully

"convinced of the sincere interest his faithful subjects "always take in any events concerning H. S. H.'s house, "finds it necessary to assemble the nobles of the land, as "well as the chief authorities and persons in office, in order "to communicate to them the most joyful news of the "betrothal of his second son, H. S. H. Prince Albert, to "Her most gracious Majesty the Queen of Great Britain "and Ireland.

"H. S. H. feels the greatest satisfaction in expressing "at the same time his sincere conviction, that, considering "Her Majesty's noble qualities, both of heart and mind, "this alliance will, under the protection of Divine Provi-"dence, prove a real happiness to his beloved son, who "will henceforward devote his whole life to his new country, "but who, though separated from his native land, will "preserve for it his present feelings of attachment and "affection."

"As soon as the Proclamation shall have been made, "the cannon of the fortress will announce the same to the "town and country.

"Prince Albert will then receive the congratulations of "all present.

"The ceremony being concluded, their Serene High-"nesses will proceed in procession to the Giants' Hall, "where having taken their seats, the Chaplain will say "grace.

"In the course of the dinner, the Queen and Prince "Albert's healths will be first drunk, then those of the Duke "and Duchess. In the evening, Cherubini's opera *Le "Deux Journées*, will be performed."

APPENDIX F.

CELEBRATION OF HER MAJESTY'S MARRIAGE WITH HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS PRINCE ALBERT OF SAXE-COBURG AND GOTHA.

(*From "The Times" of February* 11, 1840.)

THIS most important and national event took place yesterday at noon, at the Chapel Royal, St. James's; and since the marriage of her Royal Highness, the late Princess Charlotte of Wales, there has been no occurrence connected with the Royal Family of England which excited so great an interest. It was known throughout the metropolis in the course of the last week that the celebration of the marriage would take place at noon, instead of an advanced hour of the evening, as was heretofore the custom with respect to Royal marriages. The knowledge of this fact brought many, many thousands from all sides of London into the Park at an early hour. Never did St. James's Park present such an extraordinary display—never was such an immense multitude assembled there since the rejoicings at the visit of the Allied Sovereigns in 1814. As early as nine o'clock considerable numbers had arrived in order to secure a good place from which to see the Royal *cortège* pass from Buckingham Palace to St. James's. By that hour the vicinity of Buckingham Palace, and all the avenues leading to both Palaces, were thronged. As the day wore on to noon the assemblage between the back of Carlton Terrace and the

foot of Constitution Hill had increased to a dense mass of very many thousands, through which it was difficult to keep open the carriage-way for that portion of the company who had the privilege of the *entrée.* The very lowering aspect of the weather seemed to have had no terrors for the visitors, male and female, young and old, who continued to arrive in masses, by which the space already described became, before eleven o'clock, thronged to most distressing pressure. Nor was this pressure diminished to any important extent by the smart showers which came down at intervals. As each successive group of visitors arrived they of course thickened the broad line of crowd at each side of the carriage-way between the two Palaces. Those whose stations were in the rear of this line soon got an opportunity of overlooking those in front by hiring standing room on some one of the many hundred chairs, tables, or benches, which were let out at various prices, from *1s. 6d.* to *5s.* each person. Many who could not afford, or would not pay for such a luxury, succeeded in getting on the branches of the trees as well out of as in the line of the expected procession. The numbers who sought these commanding positions were so great in some of the trees that the branches gave way, and the parties came, not immediately to the ground, but on the heads and shoulders of the dense masses beneath them. We did not hear, however, that any persons were seriously hurt by those accidents. Many of them excited roars of laughter, from the efforts of those who had resorted to them to keep their places on the falling branches, or to secure more firm positions on the boughs above them. In the course of the morning the crowds in that part of the Park situate between the back of Carlton Terrace and Marlborough House were much amused by a marrow-bone and cleaver concert, got up in honour of the Royal nuptials, and we must do justice to those engaged by saying, that the effect of this rude music was by no means disagreeable.

Soon after the firing of the guns, announcing the most important part of the ceremonial, the placing the ring on Her Majesty's finger, the whole mass of the visitors who had not obtained fixed stands, rushed almost simultaneously towards Buckingham Palace, in order to have a view of Her Majesty and the Prince on their return. The pressure here became so great that it required the united and incessant efforts of the Police and the Horse Guards Blue to keep the carriage-way open. The necessary but disagreeable part of their duty was performed with much good temper, and in general was received with good humour even by those who appeared to suffer a little from it. The Police regulations in this part of the Park, and indeed in every part that we had an opportunity of observing, were admirably well arranged by the Commissioners Rowan and Mayne, and their directions were carried out by the force-officers and men under their command with great judgment and good temper. They had in some parts of the line an arduous and difficult task to perform; but we think that a great deal of their labour might have been saved by the erection of a strong barricade on each side of the line from Buckingham Palace to St. James's.

BUCKINGHAM PALACE (INTERIOR).

The officers of the household and the attendants on Her Majesty began to arrive at Buckingham Palace about half-past ten o'clock. The Earl of Uxbridge, the Earl of Belfast, the Earl of Surrey, the Earl of Albemarle, Colonel Cavendish, Lord Alfred Paget, Sir George Anson, the Lord in Waiting, Ladies in Waiting, Maids of Honour, Bedchamber Women, Gentlemen Ushers, &c., were all assembled at eleven o'clock. After some little time had elapsed the ladies of Her Majesty's suite were summoned by the Master of the Horse, and handed into four of the Royal

he had been lately invested), the Clerk Marshal, Equerries, Gentlemen Ushers, &c., the remaining portion of the foreign suite bringing up the rear. On descending the grand staircase the favoured few occupying the Grand Hall behind the Yeoman Guard, received the Prince with a loud clapping of hands, which his Royal Highness acknowledged in the most gracious manner. Indeed, to a group of ladies stationed close to the entrance, who were testifying their satisfaction, the Prince made his acknowledgments with an air of the most courteous gallantry. The Prince entered the carriage amid the sound of trumpets, the lowering of colours, the presenting of arms, and all the honours paid to the Queen herself. His Royal Highness, with his father and brother, occupied one carriage, and the attendants two other Royal carriages. A squadron of Life Guards escorted the Prince to St. James's Palace. On the return of the Lord Chamberlain six of the Royal carriages were assembled, and his Lordship informed Her Majesty that all was ready. The Queen then left her apartment, leaning on the arm of the Earl of Uxbridge as Lord Chamberlain, supported by the Duchess of Kent, and followed by a Page of Honour. Her Majesty was preceded by the Earl of Belfast, the Earl of Surrey, Lord Torrington, the Earl of Albemarle, Colonel Cavendish, Sir George Anson, Lord Alfred Paget, Mr. Byng, and several other officers of the household. Her Majesty carried her train over her arm.[1] The Royal bride was greeted with loud acclamations on descending to the Grand Hall, but her eye was bent principally on the ground, and a hurried glance around, and a slight inclination of the head, was all the acknowledgment returned. Her Majesty wore no diamonds on her head, nothing but a simple wreath of orange-blossoms. The magnificent veil did not cover her face, but hung down on each shoulder. A pair of very large

[1] A mistake: she did not.

escort of Horse Guards, and accompanied by his father, the Duke of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha, and his brother, the Hereditary Prince, then left the Palace and proceeded to St. James's; but from the windows of the carriages being closed the Royal party were only partially recognized, and passed along with but slight applause. At a quarter-past twelve, however, the band in front of the Palace struck up the national air of "God Save the Queen," and by the tremendous shouts which resounded through the Park, it was proclaimed that Her Majesty had entered her carriage and was then proceeding to St. James's to plight her troth to his Royal Highness Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha. As Her Majesty passed down the line she was most enthusiastically cheered, and appeared highly gratified by the loyalty which her subjects expressed, one or two ludicrous incidents amongst the crowd also exciting her smile; but her countenance was extremely pale, and appeared to betoken considerable anxiety. The *cortège* of Her Majesty was attended by a full guard of honour, but the carriages were drawn by only two horses each, and without the rich caparison which they usually wear on State occasions. The order of the carriages was thus:—

FIRST CARRIAGE.

Two Gentlemen Ushers.
Exon of the Yeomen of the Guard.
Groom of the Robes.

SECOND CARRIAGE.

Equerry in Waiting, Hon. C. Grey.
Two Pages of Honour.
Groom in Waiting, Hon. Major Keppel.

THIRD CARRIAGE.

Clerk Marshal, Hon. H. F. Cavendish.
Vice-Chamberlain, Earl of Belfast.
Keeper of the Privy Purse, Sir H. Wheatley.
Controller of the Household, Right Hon. G. Stevens Byng

FOURTH CARRIAGE.

Bedchamber Woman in Waiting.
Captain of the Yeomen of the Guard, Earl of Ilchester.
Master of the Buckhounds, Lord Kinnaird.
Treasurer of the Household, Earl of Surrey.

FIFTH CARRIAGE.

Maid of Honour in Waiting.
Duchess of Kent's Lady in Waiting, Lady Charlotte Dundas.
Gold Stick, Lord Hill.
Lord in Waiting, Viscount Torrington.

SIXTH CARRIAGE.

Lady of the Bedchamber in Waiting.
Master of the Horse, Earl of Albemarle.
Lord Steward, Earl of Errol.
Lord Chamberlain, Earl of Uxbridge.

SEVENTH CARRIAGE.

THE QUEEN.

The Duchess of Kent.
Mistress of the Robes, Duchess of Sutherland.

By about ten minutes past twelve o'clock the whole of these carriages, with their respective occupants, had reached

ST. JAMES'S PALACE.

THE THRONE-ROOM.

On the arrival of the Queen at St. James's Palace, Her Majesty was conducted to her closet, immediately behind the Throne-room, where she remained attended by the Maids of Honour and Trainbearers until the summons was received from the Lord Chamberlain, conveying the intimation that everything was duly prepared for the Sovereign's moving towards the Chapel.

In this room the formal procession may be said to have been formed and marshalled.

PRESENCE CHAMBER.

In this room the principal individuals who were to fall into the different processions were congregated.

QUEEN ANNE'S DRAWING-ROOM.

Round the southern side of this room a gallery was erected, consisting of several rows of seats, each capable of accommodating a considerable number of visitors. Through this room the procession passed into

THE GUARD OR ARMOURY-ROOM,

in which a gallery on a smaller scale was raised. The procession progressed from this into the Vestibule, and from that down the

GRAND STAIRCASE,

opposite to which a gallery had been put up capable of containing about 150 persons.

THE COLONNADE.

Shortly after nine o'clock the seats in the Colonnade began to be taken possession of, and ere many minutes had elapsed there remained but few of the seats unoccupied, although there was an occasional arrival down to eleven o'clock.

At this hour the appearance which the scene presented was one of extreme animation, inasmuch as by far the greater portion of the assembled company was composed of elegantly, and in some instances brilliantly, dressed ladies. It were a matter of impossibility to enter upon an attempt to give anything like a minute detail of the attire either of the one sex or of the other, for it comprised every known colour, and embraced every description of style of make. The most conspicuous dresses were of light blue relieved with white, light green also intermingled with white, amber, crimson, purple, fawn, stone, and a considerable number of white robes only. Every lady exhibited a wedding favour, some of which were admirable specimens of a refined taste. They were of all sizes, many of white satin

riband, tied up into bows, and mixed with layers of rich silver lace, others merely of riband intermixed with sprigs of orange-flower blossom, whilst were here and there to be seen bouquets of huge dimensions of riband and massive silver bullion, having in their centre what might almost be termed a branch of orange-blossoms. Large as they were, however, they were not more so than the apparent devotion of their owners, if the anxiety with which they watched every movement of the officials passing to and fro, from the instant they entered the Colonnade until the last of the "men of State" had quitted the scene, may be taken as a criterion.

It was remarked that "favours" did not form a very general appendage with the male branch of the spectators, notwithstanding there were many who had not failed to furnish themselves with this distinguishing emblem of the occasion. Some gentlemen there were, also, who did not even pay the respect to their Sovereign of providing court dresses. There appeared, nevertheless, to have been an unanimity of feeling with regard to the total banishment of black, except in a rare instance where a shawl or scarf of that hue was to be discovered.

The Colonnade through which the procession passed to the Chapel was not only excellently arranged, but was admirably lighted from the lanterns above and the windows behind. The seats, which were separated from the pillared colonnade by a dwarf railing, were covered with crimson cushions with gold-coloured borders and fringe. All the remainder of this temporary structure had the semblance of having been constructed of solid masonry. The floor of the colonnade was covered with rich Brussels carpet, which extended into the vestibule, up the grand staircase to the armoury, through the presence-chamber to Queen Anne's drawing-room, and thence to the ante-chamber and Throne-room, where Her Majesty and Prince Albert's portions of

the procession were marshalled. The seats erected for the accommodation of the spectators were covered with crimson cushions and yellow fringe, thus sustaining uniformity throughout. They were railed off from the line of procession.

There were but few of the nobility or officers of State who entered the Chapel by the Colonnade or Royal passage, but amongst that number were Earl Fitzwilliam and Earl Spencer, the Earl and Countess of Carlisle, the Duke and Duchess of Somerset, the Duke of Devonshire, the Marquis of Anglesey, the Marquis of Westminster, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Archbishop of York, and the Bishop of London.

His Grace the Duke of Wellington also passed through the Colonnade, and was most warmly cheered. The Duke slightly acknowledged the demonstration, and wended his way onwards to the place allotted for the occupation of the veteran warrior in the Chapel.

Comparatively speaking there was a scarcity of "rank" amongst the company in the Colonnade. The only individuals of particular note upon whom our eye alighted were Sir George Murray, Mr. Sheil, and Mr. Charles Young. To the former of these gentlemen her Royal Highness the Princess Sophia Matilda of Gloucester, from her place in the procession, spoke, whilst the Marquis of Anglesey stopped and shook hands most warmly with the gallant Baronet. Mr. Tennyson D'Eyncourt and Sir W. [illegible] were likewise occupants of seats in the Colonnade, but like the honourable and learned Member for Tipperary, their presence was allowed to pass unheeded.

Of course anticipation long postponed, and the virtue of patience, even within the walls of a Royal Palace, and upon such an occasion, became exhausted, and the slightest action or movement, however trifling, which tended to create a diversion or to shed a new feature on a scene-

which had grown somewhat monotonous, was hailed as a species of godsend, and accordingly the mere circumstance of the Rev. Lord Augustus Fitzclarence bringing forward one of the choir boys, a lad apparently of some seven or eight years of age, but particularly small, and examining his uncouth dress, gave rise to considerable merriment. The occasional passing to and fro of the mace-bearers—who, from their remarkable dress, namely, black, with large gold chains tied up on the shoulders with large white favours, excited a good deal of attention—was seized as a fitting opportunity to indulge in laughter.

But, looking at the mass which paraded the Colonnade, we may say, that there were the burly Yeomen of the Guard with their massive halberts, and the slim Gentlemen-at-Arms with their lighter partisans, perpetually moving up and down the corridor, proud of the notice they excited. There were also elderly Pages of State, and almost infantile Pages of Honour, officers of the Lord Chamberlain's Office, and officers of the Woods and Forests, embroidered heralds and steel-clad cuirassiers, robed prelates, stoled priests, and surpliced singing-boys, to break the uniformity and vary the monotony of the scene.

THE CHAPEL.

The principal entrances to the Chapel Royal were from the Ambassador's Court, and the Colour quadrangle opposite St. James's Street. The interior is oblong, standing east and west, about sixty-two feet in length, and twenty-five in breadth. At the upper or eastern end is the communion-table, and at the lower end, abutting over the main entrance, is the Royal gallery or closet. Two galleries supported by cast-iron pillars stretched east and west the entire length of the Chapel. On the floor, placed longitudinally, were two pews on each side of the chapel, set apart for the chief

nobility, and those who took part in the procession. The galleries, east and west, from both sides of the altar to the Royal closet, were occupied—the upper end, on the right, by the Cabinet Ministers and their ladies, on the left by the ladies and officers of Her Majesty's household. Below the choir, on the right, and in the galleries opposite, usually appropriated as Royal closets, the walls of the building were thrown out, and six benches on each side fitted up for the accommodation of peers, peeresses, and other distinguished spectators. The Royal closet was assigned to the ambassadors and their ladies, five rows of seats, elevated one above the other, having been erected for their accommodation. The whole of the seats in the Chapel were stuffed, covered with crimson cloth, and elegantly ornamented with gold fringe. On the communion-table was displayed a vast quantity of golden plate, including six salvors, one of gigantic dimensions, two ponderous and rich vases, four flagons, four communion-cups, and two lofty and magnificent candelabra. The cornice above the altar, of beautifully carved oak, was richly gilt, superb crimson velvet drapery depending from it in graceful folds upon the communion-table. Within the railing, which was also covered with crimson velvet, stools were placed on the right of the altar for the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, and on the left for the Bishop of London, Dean of the Chapel Royal. In front of the communion-table were placed four chairs of state, gilt, and covered with crimson silk velvet, each of different construction, and varying in elevation according to the dignity of their intended occupants. The highest, largest in size, and most costly in workmanship, was of course appropriated to Her Majesty, and was placed somewhat to the right of the centre; that on the opposite side, immediately on Her Majesty's right hand, being set apart for his Royal Highness Prince Albert. Before these chairs, which were placed about six feet outside the rail, footstools were set of corre-

sponding structure and decoration. There were also fald-stools for Her Majesty and Prince Albert, on which to kneel at the altar. On Her Majesty's left a chair was placed for the Duchess of Kent: and at the opposite side, on Prince Albert's right, one for the Queen Dowager. On Her Majesty's extreme left were seats for their Royal Highnesses the Dukes of Sussex and Cambridge; and on Prince Albert's extreme right for his Serene Highness the reigning Duke of Saxe-Coburg, the Hereditary Duke, and their Royal Highnesses the Duchess of Cambridge, Prince George of Cambridge, Princess Augusta and Princess Mary of Cambridge. The floor of the Chapel was covered with rich purple and gold carpeting, the prominent figure being the Norman rose. The *tout ensemble*, both as concerns the extension, decoration, and entire arrangements of the interior, completely harmonized with the original design and structure of the chapel; simplicity and elegance, not show or gaudiness, being the uniform characteristic. The ceiling is composed of antique fretwork compartments varying in size and figure, on the panelling of which are emblazoned the quarterings and heraldic distinctions of the different members of the Royal Family, from the time of its erection to that of his late Majesty William IV. and Queen Adelaide.

About half-past eleven o'clock the Archbishops of Canterbury and York and the Bishop of London took their places within the altar.

A few minutes before twelve the Queen Dowager entered the Chapel Royal through the Dean's vestry door, and took her seat near the altar. Her Majesty was arrayed in a robe of rich silk purple velvet trimmed with ermine. The Archbishops of Canterbury and York and the Bishop of London immediately rose on the entrance of Her Majesty. Her Majesty, after performing her private devotions, perceiving the most rev. prelates still standing, sent Lord Howe, who was in waiting, to desire that they might take their seats.

This act of considerate courtesy created a general sensation throughout the chapel.

A flourish of trumpets and drums at twenty-five minutes past twelve o'clock gave intimation that the procession of the Royal bridegroom had commenced its movement, and shortly after, having passed through the various rooms to which we have alluded, it entered the Colonnade in the following order:—

THE PROCESSION OF THE BRIDEGROOM.

Drums and Trumpets.
Sergeant Trumpeter, J Rivett, Esq.
Master of the Ceremonies, Sir Robert Chester, Knight.
The Bridegroom's Gentlemen of Honour, between two Heralds.

Vice-Chamberlain of Her Majesty's Household, Earl of Belfast.	Lord Chamberlain of Her Majesty's Household, Earl of Uxbridge.

THE BRIDEGROOM,

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS FIELD-MARSHAL PRINCE ALBERT, K.G.,

Wearing the Collar of the Order of the Garter,
Supported by their Serene Highnesses the reigning Duke of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha
And the Hereditary Prince of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha,
Each attended by the Officers of their Suite, namely,
Count Kolowrath, Baron Alvensleben, and Baron de Lowenfels.

As the Prince moved along he was greeted with loud clapping of hands from the gentlemen, and enthusiastic waving of handkerchiefs from the assembled ladies. He wore the uniform of a Field-Marshal in the British army. Over his shoulders was hung the Collar of the Garter surmounted by two white rosettes. His appearance was attractive and much improved since his arrival on Saturday; and with his pale and pensive looks he won golden opinions

from the fair coterie near which we were sitting. His father and his brother were also welcomed with the utmost cordiality. Both seemed pleased with their reception, and the Hereditary Prince, who has more of determination but less of good-natured complaisance in his countenance than his brother, testified his sense of it by repeatedly bowing his thanks to the fair ladies at his side.

On reaching the Chapel Royal the drums and trumpets filed off without the doors, and, the procession advancing, his Royal Highness was conducted to the seat provided for him on the left of the altar. His Royal Highness walked up the aisle, carrying a book in his right hand, and repeatedly bowed to the peers in the body of the Chapel. His form, dress, and demeanour were much admired. It might well be said of him, in the language of Scott,

> Shaped in proportion fair,
> Hazel was his eagle eye,
> And auburn of the darkest dye
> His short moustache and hair.

Having reached the *haut pas*, his Royal Highness affectionately kissed the hand of the Queen Dowager, and then bowed to the Archbishops and Dean. Immediately on his entrance a voluntary was performed by Sir George Smart on the organ. The master of the ceremonies and the officers of the bridegroom stood near the person of his Royal Highness. The Lord Chamberlain and Vice-Chamberlain, preceded by the drums and trumpets, then returned to wait upon Her Majesty.

Meanwhile his Royal Highness entered into close conversation with the Queen Dowager, until the trumpets and drums announced the moving of the Queen's procession.

After having conducted the Royal Prince to the altar, the Lord Steward and the Lord Chamberlain quitted the Royal Bridegroom for the purpose of conducting the Queen

to the altar In a few minutes, that which was denominated the Queen's procession was announced by a flourish of trumpets and drums as having been put in motion The procession passed through the Colonnade up to the Chapel doors in the subjoined order:—

THE QUEEN'S PROCESSION.

Drums and Trumpets.
Serjeant Trumpeter, T. L. Parker, Esq.
Knight-Marshal, Sir Charles Lamb, Bart.
Pursuivants.
Heralds.
Pages of Honour.

[illegible]

Her Royal Highness the Duchess of Gloucester,
attended by Lady Caroline Legge, Lady of the Bedchamber to Her Royal Highness.

Her Royal Highness the Princess Augusta,
attended by Lady Mary Pelham, Lady of the Bedchamber to Her Royal Highness.

His Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge.
His Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex.
Each attended by a Gentleman of their Royal Highnesses' household.

Vice-Chamberlain of Her Majesty's Household, Earl of Belfast.	The Sword of State, borne by Lord Viscount Melbourne.	Lord Chamberlain of Her Majesty's Household, Earl of Uxbridge.

THE QUEEN,

Wearing the Collars of her Orders.

Her Majesty's train borne by the following twelve unmarried Ladies, viz. :—

Lady Adelaide Paget.	Lady Caroline Amelia Gordon Lennox.
Lady Sarah Frederica Caroline Villiers.	Lady Elizabeth Anne Georgiana Dorothea Howard.
Lady Frances Elizabeth Cowper.	Lady Ida Hay.
Lady Elizabeth West.	Lady Catherine Lucy Wilhelmina Stanhope.
Lady Mary Augusta Frederica Grimston.	Lady Jane Harriet Bouverie.
Lady Eleanor Caroline Paget.	Lady Mary Charlotte Howard.

Assisted by Captain F. H. Seymour, the Groom of the Robes.

Master of the Horse, The Earl of Albemarle, G.C.H.	Mistress of the Robes, The Duchess of Sutherland.

Ladies of the Bedchamber :

The Marchioness of Normanby.	The Duchess of Bedford.
The Countess of Charlemont.	The Countess of Sandwich.
The Dowager Lady Lyttelton.	The Countess of Burlington.
The Lady Portman.	The Lady Barham.

Maids of Honour :

The Hon. Harriet Pitt.	The Hon. Harriet Lister.
The Hon. Amelia Murray.	The Hon. Caroline Cocks.
The Hon. Henrietta Anson.	The Hon. Matilda Paget.

The Hon. Sarah Mary Cavendish.

Women of the Bedchamber :

Lady Harriet Clive.	*Viscountess Forbes.*
Lady Charlotte Copley.	Lady Caroline Barrington.

Mrs. Brand. The Hon. Mrs. Campbell. Lady Gardner.

Captain of the Yeomen of the Guard, Earl of Ilchester.	Gold Stick, Lord Hill	Captain of the Band of Gentlemen-at-Arms, Lord Foley

Keeper of the Privy Purse, Sir Henry Wheatley
Six Gentlemen-at-Arms.
Six Yeomen of the Guard closed the procession

It will be seen from this official programme how the heralds had marshalled the different members of the procession. Scarcely any notice was taken of the individuals who led the way in it until the Lord Chancellor made his appearance. He was greeted with a few scanty cheers Garter King-of-Arms, with all his heraldic pomp and pride, and the head of his college, the Earl Marshal, the Duke of Norfolk, with all the blood of all the Howards, passed unnoticed in the throng. Her Royal Highness the Princess Sophia of Gloucester, who stopped to address Sir G. Murray as she passed, was cheered. The Princess Augusta of Cambridge excited general admiration by her affability and beauty. Her Royal aunt the Princess Augusta was cheered. Her Royal Highness the Duchess of Gloucester, whose name appears in the official details of the ceremony, was prevented from being present in consequence of her having been confined by a severe cold to her house for the last fortnight, and of her not yet being sufficiently recovered to encounter the fatigue of a considerable procession at so early an hour Her Royal Highness the Duchess of Cambridge led her young daughter the Princess Mary in her hand, and the mother of so beautiful a child was certain not to be seen without interest. Every sympathy was awakened on behalf of her Royal Highness the Duchess of Kent; but she appeared somewhat disconsolate and distressed. His Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex, who was to give away the Royal bride, seemed in excellent spirits. Lord Melbourne carried the sword of State; but little attention was paid to him. Her Majesty came next, looking anxious and excited. She was paler even than usual. Her dress was a rich white

satin trimmed with orange-flower blossoms. On her head she wore a wreath of the same blossoms, over which, but not so as to conceal her face, a beautiful veil of Honiton lace was thrown. Her bridesmaids and trainbearers were similarly attired, save that they had no veils.[3] Her Majesty wore the Collar of the Garter, but no other diamonds or jewels.[4] Her attendants were arrayed with similar simplicity; and ladies more beautiful never graced palace, hall, or country-green. With one exception, which we have already remarked, the praises which Dryden has ascribed to the companions of his Queen in the "Flower and the Leaf" are equally applicable to these attendants of our young and amiable sovereign:—

> A train less fair, as ancient fathers tell,
> Seduced the sons of Heaven to rebel;
> I pass their form, and every charming grace—
> Less than an angel would their worth debase;
> But their attire, like liveries of a kind
> Simple but rich, is fresh within my mind:
> In satin white as snow the troop was gown'd,
> The seams with sparkling emeralds set around.

Every face was turned upon them and their Royal mistress. Theirs was fixed upon hers, and as they moved and turned in conformity with her steps, it was evident that female vanity was for a time deadened in their bosoms, and that they were thinking not of the impression which they themselves created, but of that which was created by the Royal bride. They were followed by the Duchess of Sutherland. Of the Ladies of the Bedchamber and the Maids of Honour we have only to say that they did honour to the Court and to their places in the procession. It was closed, not as the official statement announced, by six Yeomen of the Guard, but by two officers in polished cuirasses and in dirty boots, who commanded the squadron of Life Guards on duty at the Palace.

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[3] The bridesmaids were in white, with roses.

[4] Her Majesty wore a diamond necklace and earrings.

As Her Majesty approached the Chapel, the national anthem was performed by the instrumental band. Her Majesty walked up the aisle, followed by her trainbearers and attendants without noticing or bowing to any of the peers. On reaching the *haut pas* Her Majesty knelt on her footstool, and having performed her private devotions, sat down in her chair of State. The different officers of State having now taken their seats in the body of the Chapel, the *coup d'œil* was splendid beyond description.

> Lords, ladies, captains, councillors, and priests,
> Their choice nobility and flower, embassies
> From regions far remote
> In various habits
> Met from all parts to celebrate the day

After the lapse of a few seconds Her Majesty rose and advanced with his Royal Highness Prince Albert to the communion-table, where the Archbishop of Canterbury immediately commenced reading the service.

The rubric was rigidly adhered to throughout.

The Archbishop of Canterbury read the service with great appropriateness and much feeling, the Bishop of London repeating the responses.

When his Grace came to the words—

"Albert, wilt thou have this woman to be thy wedded "wife, to live together after God's ordinance in the holy "estate of matrimony? Wilt thou love her, comfort her, "honour, and keep her in sickness and in health, and for- "saking all other, keep thee only unto her, so long as ye "both shall live?"

His Royal Highness, in a firm tone, replied, "I will."

And when he said—"Victoria, wilt thou have Albert to "thy wedded husband, to live together after God's ordinance "in the holy estate of matrimony? Wilt thou obey him, "and serve him, love, honour, and keep in sickness and in "health; and, forsaking all other, keep thee only unto him, "so long as ye both shall live?"

Her Majesty, in a firm voice and a tone audible in all parts of the Chapel, replied, "I will."

The Archbishop of Canterbury then said, "Who giveth "this woman to be married to this man?"

His Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex, who occupied a seat on the left of Her Majesty, now advanced, and, taking Her Majesty's hand, said, "I do."

The Archbishop of Canterbury then laid hold of Her Majesty's hand, and pressing it in that of Prince Albert's, pronounced these words, his Royal Highness repeating them after his Grace:—

"I, Albert, take thee, Victoria, to be my wedded wife, "to have and to hold, from this day forward, for better for "worse, for richer for poorer, in sickness and in health, to "love and to cherish, till death do us part, according to "God's holy ordinance; and thereto I plight thee my "troth."

Her Majesty repeated the words *mutatis mutandis*, "I, "Victoria, take thee, Albert, to my wedded husband, to "have and to hold, from this day forward, for better for "worse, for richer for poorer, in sickness and in health, to "love, cherish, and to obey, till death do us part, according "to God's holy ordinance; and thereto I give thee my "troth."

The Archbishop of Canterbury then took the ring, a plain gold ring, from his Royal Highness, and placing it to the fourth finger of Her Majesty, returned it to his Royal Highness. Prince Albert put it on, repeating after his Grace these words—"With this ring I thee wed, with my "body I thee worship, and with all my worldly goods I thee "endow; in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of "the Holy Ghost. Amen."

The Archbishop then concluded the service as follows, Her Majesty and Prince Albert still remaining standing at the altar:—

"O Eternal God, Creator and Preserver of all mankind, "Giver of all spiritual grace, the Author of everlasting life, "send Thy blessing upon these Thy servants, Victoria and "Albert, whom we bless in Thy name; that as Isaac and "Rebecca lived faithfully together, so these persons may "surely perform and keep the vow and covenant betwixt "them made (whereof this ring given and received is a token "and pledge), and may ever remain in perfect love and peace "together, and live according to Thy laws, through Jesus "Christ our Lord. Amen.

"Those whom God hath joined together let no man put "asunder."

The Park and Tower guns then fired a Royal salute

The Archbishop of Canterbury then proceeded —

"Forasmuch as Albert and Victoria have consented "together in holy wedlock, and have witnessed the same "before God and this company, and thereto have given "and pledged their troth either to other, and have declared "the same by giving and receiving of a ring, and by joining "of hands, I pronounce that they be man and wife together "In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the "Holy Ghost. Amen.

"God the Father, God the Son, God the Holy Ghost, "bless, preserve, and keep you; the Lord mercifully with "his favour look upon you; and so fill you with all spiritual "benediction and grace, that ye may so live together in this "life, that in the world to come ye may have life everlasting "Amen."

The choir then performed the *Deus Misereatur* (King's in B flat), the verse parts being doubled by the choir and sung by Messrs Knyvett, Wylde, Neil, Vaughan, Sale, and Bradbury, on the *decani* side; and on the *cantoris*, by Evans, Salmon, Horncastle, Roberts, Welsh, and Clarke.

Sir George Smart presided at the organ.

It is but justice to the gentlemen of the Chapel Royal

to state that this service was executed in the most effective and spirit-stirring manner.

The Archbishop of Canterbury then proceeded :—

"Our Father, which art in heaven, hallowed be thy "name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done in earth, "as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. "And forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that "trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation, but "deliver us from evil. Amen.

"Minister.—O Lord, save Thy servant and Thy hand- "*maid*:

"Answer.—Who put their trust in Thee.

"Minister.—O Lord, send them help from Thy holy "place :

"Answer.—And evermore defend them.

"Minister.—Be unto them a tower of strength.

"*Answer.—From the face of their enemy.*

"Minister.—O Lord, hear our prayer :

"Answer.—And let our cry come unto Thee.

"Minister.—O God of Abraham, God of Isaac, God of "Jacob, bless these Thy servants, and sow the seed of "eternal life in their hearts ; that whatsoever in Thy Holy "Word they shall profitably learn, they may in deed fulfil the "same. Look, O Lord, mercifully upon them from heaven "and bless them. And as Thou didst send Thy blessing upon "Abraham and Sarah, to their great comfort, so vouchsafe "to send Thy blessing upon these Thy servants ; that they, "obeying Thy will, and always being in safety under Thy "protection, may abide in Thy love unto their lives' end; "through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen."

The Archbishop of Canterbury proceeded to the end with the remainder of the service as prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer, Her Majesty and Prince Albert still standing before the communion-table.

The service having concluded, the several members of the Royal Family who had occupied places around the altar returned to take their positions in the procession On passing Her Majesty, they all paid their congratulations, and the Duke of Sussex, after shaking her by the hand in a manner which appeared to have little ceremony, but with cordiality in it, affectionately kissed her cheek. After all had passed with the exception of the Royal Bride and Bridegroom, Her Majesty stepped hastily across to the other side of the altar, where the Queen Dowager was standing, and kissed her.

Prince Albert then took Her Majesty's hand, and the Royal pair left the Chapel, all the spectators standing.

While the procession was proceeding down the aisle, Her Majesty spoke frequently to the Earl of Uxbridge, who was on her right hand, apparently giving directions as to the order of the procession

We have found it impossible, in our short description, to do justice either to the demeanour of the "happy, happy pair"—which was firm, self-possessed, and dignified throughout—or to the various groups who gave interest and animation to the scene. The spectacle in the Chapel, from first to last, was gorgeous in the extreme—

Premier, prelate, potentate, and peer

giving lustre and brilliancy to the whole.

Among the various excellent arrangements connected with the celebration of Her Majesty's marriage, we heard with some astonishment and regret, that the gentlemen of the Chapel Royal, who were obliged to sustain no unimportant part in the solemnization, did so, for the first time on such an occasion, not only without receiving any remuneration for their trouble, but without even a pair of gloves, a rosette, or any other favour being allowed them.

RETURN FROM THE CHAPEL ROYAL.

The deep interest taken by the spectators in the Colonnade in the proceedings of the day was shown by the general silence which prevailed unto the period of the Queen's approach. As soon as she had passed into the Chapel every tongue seemed set at liberty, and a confused murmur arose, which compelled the attendants to close the doors of the ante-chapel, lest it should penetrate into the Chapel where the solemn rites of religion were performing. A word, however, from one of the officers of the Lord Chamberlain was sufficient to put an end to this impropriety. The doors were again opened, the music of the anthem was faintly heard, the signal-guns ceased to fire, and at a few minutes past one the procession began to remarshal itself for its return. The Bridegroom's procession, which was, however, robbed of his presence, returned first. Again were the Duke and Hereditary Prince of Saxe-Coburg loudly cheered. The nuptial procession then returned in the same order as before. On the appearance of Her Majesty hand-in-hand with her Royal Husband, the clapping of hands and waving of handkerchiefs were renewed time after time, until they had passed out of sight. Whether by accident or design, His Royal Highness Prince Albert enclosed Her Majesty's hand in his own in such a way as to display the wedding-ring, which appeared more solid than is usual in ordinary weddings. On their return, cheers were given to most, if not to all, of the ladies of royal birth who had received them on their approach. There was, however, one cheer far more long and enthusiastic than any other of the day reserved for the Duke of Wellington as he left the Chapel. He was not part of the royal procession, and it had passed to some distance before he made his appearance. As soon as he had arrived in the centre of the

Colonnade, spontaneously, without any signal, and yet as if by common and universal consent, the company rose and gave him three hearty cheers. The heart of the veteran appeared gladdened by it.

Lord Melbourne, who must have heard the uproar, took it as a hint that he had better return another way. At least, if he did not, his presence did not meet our view in the returning *cortège*. Her Majesty then proceeded to the Throne-room, where the form of attestation took place. Her Majesty and Prince Albert signed the marriage-register, which was attested by certain members of the Royal Family and officers of State present. A splendid table was prepared for the purpose, and this part of the ceremony, with the magnificent assemblage by which it was witnessed, presented one of the most striking spectacles of the day.

THE RETURN TO BUCKINGHAM PALACE AND THE BREAKFAST.

During the interim of the bridal procession's leaving and returning to Buckingham Palace, there was nothing of any interest that occurred in the Park, unless indeed we may mention a desperate shower of rain, which besprinkled her Majesty's subjects, but did not appear to extinguish one spark of their loyalty At about one o'clock the firing of the guns announced that the ring had been *put on the finger, the important part of the ceremony concluded.*

After the ceremony, at twenty-five minutes past one, the first return reached Buckingham Palace, and consisted of the inferior officers of Prince Albert's suite, the Queen's Gentlemen Ushers, and a Lady of Her Majesty's Household. At twenty minutes to two the Duchess of Kent returned; her Royal Highness was accompanied by her

brother, the Duke of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, and Prince Ernest. The Royal Duchess was loudly cheered, which she acknowledged most graciously. Viscount Melbourne and Viscount Palmerston followed soon after in full official costume, then came the Marquis of Normanby, dressed in the uniform of a Colonial Governor, and at ten minutes to two o'clock the Royal procession returned. The Prince rode in the carriage with the Queen. His Royal Highness assisted Her Majesty to alight, and led her into the Palace. The Royal bride entered her own hall with an open and joyous countenance, flushed perhaps in the slightest degree, and in the most smiling and condescending manner acknowledged the loud and cordial cheers which rang through the apartment. The Royal bridegroom handed Her Majesty through the State rooms. The Duke of Sussex soon followed. The Duke was dressed in his uniform as Captain-General of the Honourable Artillery Company, and wore the Collars and other insignia of the Orders of the Garter, Bath, and St. Andrew. The Duke of Cambridge arrived immediately after, accompanied by the Duchess, Prince George, and the two Princesses. His Royal Highness wore the insignia of the Orders of the Garter and the Bath, and carried his bâton as Field Marshal. Prince George was dressed in the uniform of his regiment, and was decorated with the Order of the Garter. The Duke led in the little Princess Mary. The invited guests to the *déjeûner* followed each other in rapid succession.

WEDDING BREAKFAST.

At Buckingham Palace there was a wedding repast, at which several of the illustrious participators in the previous ceremony, and the officers of the household and Ministers of State, were present.

tions of a vast multitude. The first carriage was occupied only by Her Majesty and Prince Albert; the second and three others by the Lord and Lady in Waiting, the Groom, Equerry, two Maids of Honour, and other attendants of Her Majesty and his Royal Highness. Just before the Royal *cortège* left Buckingham Palace, the sun shone forth with full brightness, the skies were cleared of their murky clouds, and all things seemed to promise that future happiness which we sincerely trust may be the lot of the illustrious pair.

The Prince was dressed in a plain dark travelling dress, and Her Majesty in a white satin pelisse, trimmed with swansdown, with a white satin bonnet and feather.

CONSTITUTION-HILL.

At an hour considerably before sunrise this neighbourhood began to exhibit signs of preparation for the approaching spectacle, which became more evident and more bustling as the day drew on. Parties of cavalry and infantry moving to their posts, orderlies dashing to and fro, groups of sight-seers, male and female, hurrying from every quarter towards Buckingham Palace; and last, though not least, numerous swarms of persons scattered over the Green Park, laden with planks, casks, chairs, tables, and other means of elevation for the purpose of giving a sight of the procession, denoting by their wild cries and determination, and cunning in baffling the efforts of the police to prevent their ingress into the Park, the origin of the majority of them from the sister island: all these gave a variety and life to the scene which almost compensated for the dulness and gloom of the morning. But, gloomy and unpromising as the morning was, the parties interested seemed determined to make the best of it, and good-humoured jests circulating among the crowd, and now and then a *petite émeute*, or short-lived squabble, whiled away the damp and heavy hours. At

length, however, about eight o'clock, amusement began to turn up in the arrivals of the guests invited to the Royal nuptials, who, as they successively filed under the triumphal arch, were challenged by the warder, and showed the pink or white cards which gave a title to admittance, lent an air of considerable liveliness in the scene, not unmixed with something of the feudal and the romantic. First came in various flies and cabs, and vehicles of low degree, certain damsels who were pointed out to us as Maids of Honour, or persons otherwise appertaining to the Royal Household; then a strong body of the Foot Guards marched towards the position allotted to them in the immediate neighbourhood of Buckingham Palace; then came a body of the Horse Guards Blue, with fifes and cymbals playing merrily, and then the general company began to make their appearance, among whom we noticed Mr. Montgomery, Lord Monteagle, the Vice-Chancellor, Lord and Lady Langdale, Viscount and Lady Howick, the Duke of Norfolk (in his robes and with his staff of office as Earl Marshal), Sir G. Grey, Lord and Lady Ashley, the Earl of Burlington, Viscount Morpeth, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord John Russell, Mr Labouchere, Lord Holland, the Marquis of Normanby, Viscount Palmerston, Lord Duncannon, the Lord Chancellor, the Austrian and other Ministers, and the Marchioness of Normanby. The Ministers, with the exception of the Lord Chancellor, who wore his legal costume, were attired in the Windsor uniform of blue, guarded or turned up with an edging of oak-leaf in gold, but strange to tell, they passed in every instance without the smallest notice, favourable or otherwise, on the part of the immense multitude who were congregated in this quarter. At a quarter to twelve the Duke of Cambridge and suite in three of the Royal carriages drove through the gate escorted by a guard of honour. The Duke of Sussex passed in a single carriage at a few minutes before twelve o'clock. The illus-

trious Duke wore, as usual, his black silk skullcap, looked in very good health, and was very favourably received by the crowd. We should have said, however, that about a quarter to eleven the rain cleared off, and we had an opportunity to take a survey of the assembled multitude, and certainly we should say that this assemblage, though decidedly greater in numbers than any which has been collected during this reign on a like public occasion, was also decidedly inferior in the proportion of well-dressed persons, and persons carrying the air of respectability. Of these we noticed but few; at the same time there appeared to be a very much smaller display of military as well as of civil force than has formerly been usual. The police, however, in spite of the mob's restless importunity, displayed their habitual temper and firmness, and the soldiery their own unrivalled patience and good-humour. And so the day wore on until about half-past two o'clock, when, the rain and mist having cleared off, the *coup d'œil* from the triumphal arch was certainly striking, for as far as the eye could reach towards Kensington, along Hyde Park, the Green Park, and Piccadilly, the whole area was more or less thickly crowded with human beings, all anxiously expecting (though most of them at a distance disabling them from enjoying) the approach of their youthful Monarch. At length, about half-past two o'clock, the passage of a party of Light Dragoons, on their way to the Palace, gave people cause to think that Her Majesty's appearance would not be wanting long, for it was conjectured, and rightly, that these troops were intended to form the escort of the Royal pair to Windsor Castle. A few minutes past four o'clock the much-expected cavalcade drew near, a carriage with ladies of the household leading the way, a party of the cavalry following: the Royal travelling-chariot conveying Her Majesty and Prince Albert dashed rapidly under the triumphal archway amidst the warm and enthusiastic cheers of the spectators assembled around, who

[illegible]

were [illegible]
of the [illegible]
which [illegible]
[illegible]
the [illegible]
of [illegible]

[illegible]

The [illegible] at Eton [illegible] the [illegible] of the [illegible] of the College [illegible] hand side of the road coming from London [illegible] the College itself, a large wooden structure [illegible] Grecian portico, sixty feet in height and of [illegible] width, was erected. The whole of this erection was covered with variegated lamps; on the pediment were the Royal Arms. An inscription or "legend" with the words "Cum[illegible] Victoriæ et Alberto" surmounted the pediment. The word "Etona" was also conspicuous amongst the [illegible]tions. Seven large flags floated gallantly from the [illegible] of the building, which exhibited considerable taste [illegible] the design and embellishments. There were [illegible] 5,000 lamps in this portico, the effect of [illegible] very splendid. The interior quadrangle of [illegible] sented a brilliant appearance. [illegible] eastern side, was illuminated by a [illegible] a wreath of laurel, having the [illegible] in variegated lamps. [illegible] The arch of the [illegible] lamps, and the [illegible] festooned with [illegible] quadrangle was the [illegible] words "Florea[illegible] [illegible] Several [illegible] the [illegible] of laurels and [illegible] Inn.

At the entrance into Eton the whole of the scholars and masters of the school were collected, to the number of 550, wearing bridal favours, and from time to time was heard the noise of maroons, fired in token of loyalty and rejoicing. Besides the preparations at the College, the main street of Eton presented a lively appearance; most of the houses were illuminated, and the principal tradesmen exhibited stars and other emblems of the joyous event. The whole place was in a state of bustle and excitement; all was felicity. At the Christopher Inn a dinner was prepared for a large party of the inhabitants, and there were private parties at most of the houses of the Dames and College authorities.

WINDSOR.

In the morning the appearance of Windsor differed in no respect from its ordinary character, and scarcely a symptom was observable of an intention to make any public celebration of the Royal wedding. All the shops were opened as usual; every one seemed busy in his customary avocations; no merry peal of bells welcomed in the day; and the rain, falling in torrents, made the town look very dull and miserable. By degrees this melancholy aspect of affairs wore away. The rain ceased: in the afternoon the shops were closed, and the inhabitants having now nothing to detain them at home, thronged the streets, decorated with wedding favours and dressed in the gayest possible style, and the prospect—so gloomy a short time before—became lively and charming. The sun shot forth its beams, and the bells, as if awakened from slumber, burst out in joyous chimes. As the day advanced, the weather grew more and more propitious, and numbers of strangers, anxious to see Her Majesty with her illustrious Consort enter the noble Palace of her ancestors at Windsor, poured into the place, conveyed in every conceivable description of vehicle. Most of these persons, after giving a hearty farewell cheer to the

Royal couple as they passed through the gates of the Castle, returned again to London, resolved to finish the amusement of the day by a sight of the splendid illuminations in town. About half-past two o'clock considerable excitement was occasioned among the various groups of persons waiting to see the Royal *cortège* pass through High Street by the appearance of the Royal standard, which at that hour was raised at the Round Tower. Various were the conjectures as to the particular circumstance which the hoisting of this proud and noble banner might be intended to indicate; but having tired themselves with explanatory suggestions, the crowd came to the conclusion that it must be the signal of Her Majesty's departure from St. James's Palace after the conclusion of the nuptial ceremony. At four o'clock a troop of Life Guards left Windsor for the purpose of meeting the Royal *cortège* on the road and escorting it to the Castle. At this hour a dense concourse of persons had collected about the gates of the Castle, which appeared to be the point of greatest attraction, and an unbroken line of spectators extended from this spot to the extremity of Eton near to London. As always happens in cases like the present, the anxiously-expected arrival was announced about one hundred and fifty times before it actually happened, and as each successive rumour turned out to be false it would not be easy to depict the momentary disappointment manifested by the impatient assemblage.

The evening had closed in before the arrival of the Royal party. The whole town was therefore illuminated before they entered it, and the effect produced by the glitter of the lights on the congregated multitude was exceedingly splendid. Every house in Windsor was illuminated; many of them were handsomely decorated with flags, laurels, mottoes, and artificial bouquets. Ingenious devices and transparent representations of the Queen and Prince Albert were not few nor far between. The Town-

hall, the White Hart Inn, the Castle Inn, and several houses in the neighbourhood were conspicuous for the brilliancy and beauty of their decorations.

At half-past six the crowd on the Castle-hill had become so dense that it was with difficulty the line of road for the Royal carriages was kept clear. The whole street was one living mass, whilst the walls of the houses glowed with crowns, stars, and all the brilliant devices which gas and oil could supply. At this moment a flight of rockets was visible in the air, it was apparently over Eton, and it was immediately concluded that the Queen had entered Eton. The bells now rang merrily, and the shouts of the spectators were heard as the Royal *cortège* approached the Castle. At twenty minutes before seven the Royal carriage arrived in the High Street, Windsor, preceded by the advanced-guard of the travelling escort, consisting of a body of the 2nd Life Guards, commanded by Lieutenant Totenham, which relieved the 14th Dragoons at Colnbrook. The shouts were now most loud and cheering, and from the windows and balconies of the houses handkerchiefs were waved by the ladies, whilst the gentlemen huzza'd and waved their hats. The carriage, from the crowd, proceeded slowly, Her Majesty and her Royal Consort bowing to the people. Her Majesty looked remarkably well, and Prince Albert seemed in the highest spirits at the cordiality with which he was greeted. It was exactly a quarter to seven when the Royal carriage drew up at the grand entrance. The Queen was handed from the carriage by the Prince: she immediately took his arm and entered the Castle. In the carriages which followed that in which the Royal pair arrived were Lady Sandwich, Lady in Waiting; the Hon. Miss Cocks and the Hon. Miss Cavendish, Maids of Honour; Lord Torrington, Major Keppel, and Mr. Seymour, the Groom and Equerry in Waiting, who formed the Royal dinner-party.

In the evening the auspicious event was celebrated by a

public dinner given in the Town-hall. About 100 of the inhabitants of Windsor attended, the Mayor taking the chair, and being supported on either side by the members for the borough, Messrs. Ramsbottom and Gordon. At the conclusion of the dinner, "Health and Long Lives to Victoria and Albert" was proposed by the Mayor, and responded to in the most enthusiastic manner, the whole company rising and cheering for several minutes. The evening's entertainment was greatly advanced by the vocal abilities of Messrs. Fitzwilliam, Jolly (senior and junior), and J. O. Atkins, who executed two or three appropriate songs written for the occasion.

Two other public dinners were given at the Castle Tavern and at the Star and Garter; and several inhabitants of the town besides had private parties in honour of the Royal wedding.

We are happy to say that while the "great" feasted, the "small" were not forgotten on this joyous occasion. A substantial dinner of good old English fare was provided for the poorer inhabitants of the place and the neighbouring country, the expense being defrayed by a voluntary subscription, to which fund 20*l.* were contributed by Her Majesty. Nearly 600 poor families, amounting probably to 2,000 individuals, were by this considerate charity regaled at their own homes with a good dinner and some excellent beer, wherewith to do complete justice to the toast of "Health and Happiness to Victoria and Albert."